

THE
SCOTTISH REVIEW.

APRIL, 1900.

ART. I.—A SCOT ABROAD.

THE pathos of the story of the last century Jacobites does not lie in the Fifteen or even in the Forty-Five. The halo of romance that surrounds that magical Edinburgh week, the dignity of immortal defeat upon Culloden Moor, the marvel of those glorious months of wandering in the 'land o' the leal;' all these things are a crown of life to a dead cause. Nor does it lie solely in the after-life of the Prince. Rather do we find it in the records of those who spent long years in exile, sighing for 'Lochaber no more' and repeating ever the sad refrain—

' But the weary never come
To their ain countrie.'

It is true that there were those among them who found friends in the land of the stranger, and who lived to work for the alien and to fight against the land that gave them birth; but this is no alleviation of the story. For it merely shows what a loss this hopeless struggle caused to the country for which the best on both sides would willingly have died. In happier circumstances, the eighteenth century might have had on its roll of fame

numbers of brave and true men whose lives were wasted in miserable intrigues in Foreign Courts and who might have given new associations to great traditional names and have invested old Scottish homes with fresh memories that men would not willingly have forgotten. But all the time—

‘Lone stood the house, and the chimney-stone was cold.’

From this great band of exiles there stand forth two brothers, who are distinguished from their comrades at once by their personality and by their fate. By the sea-coast, nor’ nor’ east, in the farthest corner of Aberdeenshire, stood, till last year, the ruins of the castle of Inverugie. On the one side, the sea-spray dashed against its walls and windows; on the others, lay the bleak, bare treeless country of Buchan, passing, southwards, into the sands of Forvie, the deserted parish long since buried under sand hill and covered with green bents; and stretching, northwards, into the fertile Howe o’ the Garioch, bounded by the haunted hill of Benachie, and almost within sight of Tap o’ Noth itself. For miles and miles the great feature of the landscape was the stern castle wall, and in this corner of the country the owners of Inverugie had the guiding o’ t. To the great house of Keith belong many pages of Scottish history. They had been for centuries hereditary Earls Marischal of Scotland. It was a Keith who had led the Scottish cavalry at Bannockburn, and the blood of a Keith had stained the banner of Scotland on Flodden Field. The fifth Earl, the founder of the college which produced Dugald Dalgetty, had borne a great part in Reformation politics, and he had gone on that perilous voyage to Denmark to bring back King James’s bride: the voyage when five witches had raised a storm such as no man could remember, by baptizing a cat, knitting to its four feet four joints of men and casting it into the sea with mystic words of hellish adjuration, the devil himself being present and being seen to carry a mysterious staff. The Ear had lived to tell the tale and to execute righteous judgment

upon such bold and presumptuous sinners. In the seventeenth century, the family interest shifted southwards from Inverugie to Dunnottar, and during the 'Troubles' their attitude was strangely inconstant. But in the end they are found definitely enough upon one side, and the story of the Black Hole of Calcutta was rehearsed in the dungeons of Dunnottar. As we approach the end, we find ourselves back again at Inverugie. There, in 1693, was born George Keith, and, in 1696, his brother James, sons of the ninth Earl Marischal and Margaret Drummond, his wife, the high-spirited daughter of the House of Perth, doomed to spend her latest years in the never to be realised hope that

' I'll be Lady Keith again,
The day the King comes o'er the water.'

It is of the younger of these brothers that we are to speak—James Keith, Scotsman, Frenchman, Spaniard, and Russian; and, finally, the Marshal Keyt, whose statue is in the Wilhelmplatz, and whose figure is to be seen on the Denkmal of Frederick the Great in the Unter den Linden. Of his earlier years a few words must suffice, for he himself begins his *Memoirs* thus:—'Memories are commonly tedious in the beginning by the recital of genealogies, trifling accidents which happened in the childhood, and relating minucies (hardly fit to be imparted to the most intimate friend), that it renders them not only uninstrusive to the reader, but often loathsome to those who wish to employ their time in any useful way.' The formative influences of his life (to use our modern jargon), were three in number—his brother, his brother's tutor (afterwards Bishop Keith the historian), and his own tutor, Peter Meston. They were all staunch Jacobites and Episcopalians, and Meston was the author of a poem of great popularity in his own days. 'The Knight' was an imitation of *Hudibras*, and consisted of a coarse satire upon Whigs, Hanoverians, and Presbyterians. When Meston was made a regent in Marischal College, James Keith followed him thither, and was pursuing the learning of that age when the news burst on an excited world that Queen Anne was dead.

After Queen Anne, the deluge. Keith has himself told us all about the intrigues that preceded the Fifteen, and he sketches with great incisive power the causes of its failure. Following his brother, the tenth Earl, he joined the Jacobite forces. Keith was under no misapprehension about the leaders of the plot. He knew men, and he spares neither Ormonde nor Mar. He was present at Sheriffmuir, the battle of which

‘Some say that we wan,
And some say that they wan,
And some say that nane wan at a’ man ;
But o’ this I am sure,
That at Sheriffmuir
A battle was fought which I saw, man ;
And we ran, and they ran,
And they ran, and we ran,
And we ran and they ran awa’, man.’

Keith was only seventeen years of age, but the Fifteen was the first event of his life, and he has pictured it with much detail. But we must hasten on. In May, 1716, Keith escaped to France, where the Queen Mother, the unfortunate Mary of Modena, received him most graciously. ‘Had I conquered a kingdom for her, she could not have said more.’ Next year he had a never to be forgotten meeting in Paris with Peter the Great, but he failed to attain a position in the Russian service. Not Peter, but his daughter, was to profit by Keith’s genius, and, ere that time came, Keith was once more to fight on Scottish soil. In 1718, he took part in the mismanaged Spanish invasion, and was defeated in the skirmish of Glen-shiel. Curiously enough, he made his way from the West Coast to the East, instead of making straight for France, and, in the summer sunshine of 1718, he looked his last upon Inverugie and Peterhead, and betook himself to Spain. In the Spanish army he fought with distinction. He was present at the siege of Gibraltar in 1726-7, and made a suggestion which might have led to its capture. He pointed out that the English considered it scarcely worth while to guard against the little Spanish troop, that they allowed the Spanish soldiers to enter the town without any hindrance, that ‘at less than

400 yards from the place there are sand bancs where a thousand men might lie concealed, and which they then had not the precaution to reconnoitre,' and he suggested that it would be easy to surprise the garrison. But the Spanish general was much too magnificent for this. He expected reinforcements, and he said that Keith was a Protestant, and that Spain would take Gibraltar by storm or not at all. So it was not at all; and Keith, declining the earnest request of the King of Spain that he would change his religion, departed to Russia, where Spanish influence obtained for him the position of Major-General in the Russian army. As everybody knows, he rapidly acquired a position of supreme importance in the Russian army; he won Russian battles, ruled Russian provinces, negotiated Russian treaties. Then, in 1747, he suddenly left Russia and entered the service of Frederick the Great. The real cause of this decision has not been properly understood, although the instinct of James Grant led him to form a correct hypothesis, where more sober historians and biographers have missed the point. Before dealing with this, it may be well to give the remaining facts of his life. He became a Prussian Field Marshal, and the intimate friend of Frederick. In battle, siege, and especially in the great marches which redeemed Frederick's chances so often, Keith was ever the guiding hand. He had a share in the victory of Rossbach, and the defeat of Hochkirchen came about because the king declined Keith's advice. There, on the 14th October, 1758, Keith dealt his last blow. 'Two shots in the right side he had not regarded: but this one on the left was final: Keith's fightings are suddenly all done. . . . He sleeps now in Berlin, far from bonny Inverugie: the hoarse sea-winds and caverns of Dunnottar singing vague requiem to his honourable line and him, in the imaginations of some few.' So far, Carlyle. The Earl Marischal wrote thus: 'My brother leaves me a noble legacy: last year he had Bohemia under ransom, and his personal estate is seventy ducats.'

Keith's biographers have always been puzzled to know the reason of his leaving the Russian service. Mr. Nisbet Bain, in his recent book on the Empress Elizabeth, attributes it to his

'being offended by the refusal of the Russian Government to give an asylum to his brother, the ex-Jacobite, and piqued besides at not receiving the command of the auxiliary corps of 30,000 men sent to the Rhine in 1747.' The secret history of the year is explained in a series of letters, the originals of which were in the *Bibliotheca Sussexiana*, and seem to have disappeared after the dispersion of that collection. Copies, however, were presented by General Hebel to the Royal Library at Berlin, in 1843, and the present writer had the privilege of examining them in the summer of 1898. They are mainly addressed to the 'Chevalier John Drummond,' a cousin of Keith, and a grandson of the fourth Earl of Perth. Young Drummond had been 'out' in the 'Forty-five, and Keith had set his heart upon his taking service under the Empress Elizabeth, and carrying out the great designs for the aggrandisement of Russia, which Keith himself had formed. The series of letters extends from 1745 to 1756, and two of them are addressed to the Chevalier's father, Lord Edward Drummond, and one to the Empress herself.

It is in a letter to Lord Edward Drummond that we find the real reason of Keith's leaving Russia. It bears no date, but internal evidence shows that it was written about 1755. The Empress had made to her great soldier a proposal of marriage, and Keith had left because of her 'royal determination to raise me to a height which would have been both my destruction and her ruin, of which she was soon convinced—even the day after my departure, when she had but barely intimated her design.' No doubt, Keith was right. He had already made enemies, 'being a foreigner, and deemed by those who knew not better, an Englishman.' So he went away on the morrow. Was Elizabeth's heart really touched? She certainly made love in a somewhat matter-of-fact way. She argued that Keith was 'the only general, martially, geographically, and politically, who perfectly understood the grand projects of my great and good parent, and . . . who had a soul suited by the great God of the universe to comprehend, and powers alone to execute them.' Elizabeth was probably a married woman; she was childless, and thirty-eight years of age. But

it would have involved no great difficulty to divorce or otherwise remove the Cossack shepherd whom she seems to have made her husband, and she longed for an heir to establish her throne. 'You,' she said to Keith, 'are the only man alive who can, in time to come, train up a son, if he possesses your mind, to execute the plans of Peter the Great, under your improvement.' But there was probably more than this, for the Empress was not a woman who regarded practical considerations only, and to the end of Keith's life she maintained a correspondence with him. Six years after he had left her Court, she could write to him in terms like these: 'Alas! Keith, I am, as you well know, but a woman. So was Zenobia, the wife of Odenatus, who was, as you was, her general, her hero,' and Keith himself says that her letters remain 'a sacred pledge of her gracious friendship, confidence, and unbounded attachment.' Keith's own attitude suggests nothing of this sort. He admired and trusted the Empress, and regarded her as his ally in carrying out his great schemes. But of the lover there is not a hint. Keith's attachments were very steadfast, and some years before he had rescued a Swedish girl from the fate of a Russian captive, and had trained her up to be his life-long companion.

The correspondence between the Empress and Keith was not restricted to love-making or vain regrets. From Berlin he attempted to guide the policy of Russia. He was convinced of the folly of thinking (the words sound strangely modern) 'that it is the interest of the commercial nations of Europe to maintain the Turks in splendour,' and he believed that it would help 'the greatest intercourse of commerce, navigation, population, and happiness to mankind,' if Russia should be in possession of Constantinople, 'while virtue and abilities animate the Russian Government.' To this end he wrote long letters of advice both to the Empress and to young Drummond, pointing out how this object would best be attained. The final subjection of the Ottoman Empire might, he thought, involve a war of conquest, and he made a full estimate of the military and geographical conditions. But to this method of accomplishing his end he was strongly adverse, and he gave

Russia incidentally a motto which she might well inscribe on her banners. 'Progressive boundaries, not rapid conquest,' he said, and Russia has not failed to profit by the lesson. The letters which contained military details were mostly addressed to Drummond, who never entered the Russian service. But when the Russo-Turkish war of 1768 broke out, Drummond communicated Keith's letters to the Russian Government, and placed them at the disposal of the Russian authorities.

The letters are interesting in other ways. They contain evidence of the mastery possessed by Keith over all the conditions of European politics in his day. He knows the military power of every nation; he gives us tables of the strength of the various navies; he approves of his cousin's idea 'of opening the neck or narrow space of continent between the *cul de sac* of Darien with the South Sea at or near Panama, and there dividing that grand continent.' He knows intimately the factions contending for power in Great Britain, and the secrets of the government of Louis XV. It is characteristic of Keith that his letters are discursive and touch many varied topics. He knew history well, and he was easily led into an historical dissertation. Like many Scotsmen, he had a weakness for historical parallels and contrasts, and a chance reference leads now to an elaborate comparison of Alexander the Great with Peter the Great, and again to a picture of the problems that confronted Henry IV. of France as contrasted with those that Peter had faced. He had, too, the national love of dogmatic statements and the national antipathy to priestcraft. 'Peter the Great,' he says, 'took example from the wise powers of the North—Sweden, Denmark, Scotland, Holland, and Prussia—where the priesthood are confined to labour but in the vineyard of divinity and morality, or suffer pains and penalties for misdemeanours and crimes.' The Scotsman's love of Scotland was always with him. Three years before Hochkirch, he wrote passionately of his attachment to the land of his ancestors, nor would he admit that her doom was sealed, as most men thought, in 1756. 'England has the vanity and folly to imagine herself equal to an

extended territorial empire in America. She will repent when it is too late. Her venality of Government and the vice and avarice of her factions will finish her career. The nature of her climate, soil, air, and her inherent stamina will again revive her, and therefore Britain cannot sink into a Province, but for a season; for, after all her spurious breed are exhausted, her distant mountains and remote valleys will again re-people the land.' A regeneration of the country from Aberdeenshire is a vision worthy of a Keith.

The personal fascination of a man who captivated the Empress Elizabeth, and became the confidant of Frederick the Great, can have been no small thing. Yet in life he formed but few attachments. His ruling affection was probably his love for his elder brother, the Earl Marischal, whose character Mr. Lang has so brilliantly sketched in *The Companions of Pickle*. His life can scarcely be accounted a failure, for he helped to lay down the lines of Russian policy. Had fate been kinder, his name might have ranked with that of Peter the Great. Or, had he been educated amid Whig influences, we might have associated him with Pitt and Wolfe. In 1740, indeed, he had an interview with George II. in London. But between Keith and the House of Hanover there was a great gulf fixed, and to bridge it proved impossible. So he lived in exile, beloved of a Russian Empress and a German King, the last and the greatest of Scottish soldiers of fortune.

ROBERT S. RAIT.

ART. II.—THE HUDSON BAY COMPANY.

The Great Company (1667-1871): Being a History of the Honourable Company of Merchant-Adventurers Trading into Hudson's Bay. By BECKLES WILLSON, with an Introduction by Lord STRATHCONA and MOUNT ROYAL. Portraits and Map. 2 vols. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1900.

IN these two volumes Mr. Beckles Willson tells the story of the Hudson's Bay Company. The story is compiled from the Company's archives and from other reliable sources, and is prefaced by an introduction from the pen of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, the governor of the Company. It is full of stirring and often of startling episodes, and narrates many deeds of courage, endurance, and heroism, not unmixed here and there with others of faint-heartedness, cowardice, and even of crime. On the whole, however, it is the story of a great success. The Honourable Company of Adventurers never gave themselves out as anything but traders. They have never carried the Bible in one hand and the rum-bottle in the other; nor have they ever laid claim to be acting from any high or exalted motive, or given out that their first and principal aim was the evangelisation of the Red man. Their open and avowed object has always been gain, and while they have pursued it tenaciously, and often in the face of great difficulties and discouragements, to their credit, be it said, they have never condescended to the use of unworthy means, but all through their long career, and in spite of numerous temptations, they have dealt honestly with the natives through whose industry they sought to profit. They have had their reward. Not only have successive generations of shareholders reaped the gain they sought, the Company has proved itself a power for good, scattering the elements of civilisation among the rude and savage tribes with whom its agents came in contact, contributing towards the amelioration of their physical lot and the improvement of their moral

condition, and at the same time adding largely to the sum of our knowledge of the earth's surface, and preparing the way for the colonist. One of the most beneficial results of the Company's operations may be seen in the kindly relations it fostered and which still exists between the White and the Red men through all parts of the British dominions on the North American continent.

The Hudson Bay Company, or the Great Company, as the Red men prefer to call it, originated in 1667. Great Britain had just awaked out of the terrors of the Civil War, and escaped from the oppressive hand of Cromwell. The spirit of commercial enterprise had begun to make itself felt, and the Court of Charles II. was thronged with adventurers, eager to win his favour for the advancement of schemes to which the leaders of the Commonwealth would not have listened. The fur trade of North America was already being vigorously prosecuted by the Dutch, the English in Boston, and the French in Canada. The greatest share of the trade was falling to the French. As early as 1630 the Beaver and several other companies had been organised at Quebec for carrying on the fur trade in the West, near and around the great Lakes, and in the North-West Territory, and twice annually for many years had vessels anchored at Havre laden with the skins of fox, marten, and beaver, collected and shipped by the Company of the Hundred Associates, to whom in 1627 Richelieu had granted a charter conferring upon the Company a monopoly of the trade in Canada. The extent of the trade was no secret, and a feeling became current in London that England ought to have a larger share in the traffic than it had. There were difficulties in the way; but by 1665 the charter of the *Compagnie des Cents Associés* having been ceded to the Crown, a new Association known as *La Compagnie des Indes Occidentales* was formed under a new charter, and in the following year two of the employees of the old Company, dissatisfied with their prospects under the new régime, propounded to the Intendant, Jean Talon, at Quebec, a scheme for the extension of the fur trade to the shores of Hudson's Bay.

These two employees, 'bushrangers,' as Mr. Willson designates them, were Medard Chouart, who subsequently added to his name des Groseilliers, and his brother-in-law, Pierre Radisson. Groseilliers, for by that name Chouart came to be generally known, was born in France, near Meaux, and had emigrated to Quebec when he was little over sixteen years old. His father, who was a pilot, intended that he should succeed him in the same calling, but, falling in with a Jesuit just returned from Canada, and full of thrilling tales about the New France beyond the seas, he was so affected by the suggestion which the Jesuit's anecdotes awakened in him of a rough and joyous career in the wilderness, that he resolved to take his own part in the glowing life they depicted. In 1641 he sailed with Maissonneuve from Rochelle. Five years later he was trading among the Hurons. Next year he married Etienne, daughter of the pilot Abraham Martin, from whom the plateau adjoining Quebec takes its name, and which a century later was the scene of the struggle between Montcalm and Wolfe. Etienne did not long survive her marriage, and within a year after her death Groseilliers fell in with Pierre and Marguerite Radisson, Huguenots of good family who had just quitted France to start a new life amid new and more tranquil surroundings in Canada. With this young couple Groseilliers was soon on terms of great intimacy. Marguerite he married, and with Pierre he entered into partnership, and the two were soon the leading spirits of the settlement at Three Rivers. Here Radisson married Elizabeth Herault, one of the few Protestant young women in Canada. After her death he married the daughter of a zealous English Protestant, who afterwards became Sir John Kirke, and to whose brothers Champlain had thirty years before surrendered Quebec. Groseilliers about this time is reported to have turned Protestant.

It was to Groseilliers and Radisson that the Hudson's Bay Company may in one sense be said to have owed its existence, and for a long time they are the central figures in the early part of its history. As already said, they were for some time in the employment of the Hundred Associates, and it was while engaged with them that they acquired the information

which suggested the plan of carrying on the fur-trade from the shores of Hudson's Bay. When the proposal was laid before the Intendant at Quebec he refused to entertain it. Groseilliers then made his way to Boston. In Boston his scheme was regarded with favour, but money was scarce, and the colony was already overstrained in carrying out projects for its own security and maintenance. At Boston, however, he met with the members of a Commission who had been sent over to adjust certain complaints, and one of them, Colonel Carr, it is said, strongly urged him to proceed to England and offer his services to the King. In Boston he also met with Zachary Gillam, captain and part owner of the *Nonsuch*, in which he plied a trade between the colony and the mother country. Gillam entered into the project with enthusiasm, and offered his services in case an equipment could be found. But, failing to find the support they needed in Boston, in June, 1665, Groseilliers and Radisson set sail in the *Nonsuch* for Plymouth, from whence they proceeded to Paris. Here they were as unsuccessful with the French authorities as they had been in Canada. By a happy coincidence, however, the Colonel Carr just referred to, chanced to be in Paris, and meeting with Groseilliers and hearing of the failure of his mission, he renewed his recommendation to the bushranger to try his fortune in London, and gave him a letter to Lord Arlington, the British ambassador in Paris who, after carefully weighing the matter, gave him a letter to Prince Rupert, then in London, where he was spending the time in the cultivation of science and the arts.

Groseilliers left Radisson, who by this time was thoroughly disheartened, in Paris, and made his way to London. On his arrival the Prince was unfortunately ill and unable to see him, and it was not till the 4th of June, 1667, some two or three weeks later, that they met. When they met they were alone, and the result of the interview was that the Prince promised his credit for the scheme. Three days later the Prince sent for Groseilliers. This time he was not alone. In the Prince's apartments were several gentlemen, among whom were Lord Craven, Sir John Robinson, and Mr. John Portman. A week later

Groseilliers, Radisson, and Portman travelled to Windsor Castle at the Prince's request. Of what happened there is no record, but Oldenburgh, the famous Secretary of the Royal Society, soon after wrote to Robert Boyle in America:—'Surely I need not tell you from hence, what is said here with great joy, of the discovery of a north-west passage by two Englishmen and one Frenchman, lately represented by them to His Majesty at Oxford, and answered by the grant of a vessel to sail into Hudson's Bay and Channel into the South Sea.' Evidently the scheme of the two intrepid traders was at last to be set afoot.

The year 1667 was too far advanced for any practical steps to be taken, but in the following year Zachary Gillam's *Nonsuch*, a ketch of fifty tons, was chartered for the project, and after success to the expedition had been drunk in the captain's cabin by Prince Rupert and several of his friends, the vessel dropped down the Thames on the 3rd of June. Two months later Resolution Isle, at the entrance of Hudson's Straits, was sighted, and on the 29th of September the adventurers cast anchor at the mouth of a river situated in 51 degrees of latitude. Groseilliers and Gillam went promptly ashore. They christened the river Rupert's River, and resolved to winter on the spot where they had landed.

The first care of the traders was to build a fort. Under Groseilliers' direction they made it of logs after the manner of those built by the traders and Jesuits in Canada, a stockade enclosing it, as offering some protection against sudden attack. The cargo was not landed until the attitude of the Indians had been ascertained. On the fourth day a number of these appeared. Under the management of Groseilliers they proved friendly, and promised to return before the winter set in with all the furs they had, and to spread the tidings of the new trading post amongst the neighbouring tribes. The supply of furs brought in in the autumn was small, but that of the following spring, chiefly owing to the activity and tact of Groseilliers, was abundant, and in June the *Nonsuch* sailed away with such cargo as had been gathered, to report to the Prince and his friends the excellent prospects afforded by the post on

Rupert's River, provided only the Indians could be made aware of its existence, and the French trade intercepted.

When, in the following August, Gillam cast anchor in the Thames, and delivered the despatch with which Groseilliers had entrusted him, the patrons of the enterprise were delighted. They at once set about fitting out two other ships for the business, and induced Prince Rupert to use his influence with the King to procure for them a charter of monopoly. Rupert seems to have had no difficulty in procuring the charter. It was the age of charters and monopolies, and the charter granted was sweeping enough to gratify the most ambitious. It is dated at Winchester, 2nd May, 1670, and is probably, as Mr. Willson describes it, 'one of the most celebrated instruments which ever passed from monarch to subject,' and though incessantly in dispute was perpetuated in full force through two centuries. It was granted to Prince Rupert and seventeen others, who were incorporated into a company, and given the exclusive right to establish settlements and carry on trade at Hudson's Bay. It proceeds on the narrative that the eighteen adventurers had, at their own great cost, undertaken an expedition to Hudson's Bay to discover a new passage into the South Sea, and to find a trade for furs, minerals, and other commodities, and having made such discoveries as encouraged them to proceed with their design, His Majesty grants to them and their heirs, under the name of 'The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay,' the power of holding and alienating lands, and the sole right of trade in Hudson's Strait, and the territories upon its coasts. They were authorised to fit out ships of war, erect forts, make reprisals, to send home all English subjects entering the Bay without their license, and to declare war or make peace with any prince or people not Christians. Prince Rupert was appointed the first Governor of the Company, and the territories conveyed to the Company, which included the whole of the vast region, then of unknown extent, which is drained into Hudson's Bay, were to be henceforth reckoned and reputed 'one of our plantations or colonies in America,' and to be called 'Rupert's Land.'

The first of the new ships, the *Eagle*, entered Rupert's River in July, 1669, conveying among others Radisson, who had been prevented from joining the first expedition by an accident. The other left Gravesend, with a newly appointed overseer of trade, a few days after the Company had received its charter.

Meantime, the French Company had been far from inactive, and new measures for the increase of its trade had been taken. With the establishment of the new post on Rupert's River, the rivalry between the French and English to the north of the St. Lawrence had begun, as well as a series of disputes concerning the sovereignty of the whole northern territories, which has endured down to the present generation. 'Few historical themes,' Mr. Willson observes, 'have ever been argued at greater length or more minutely than this—the priority of discovery, occupation, and active assumption of sovereignty over those lands surrounding Hudson's Bay, which for two centuries were to be held and ruled by the Hudson's Bay Company. The wisest jurists, the shrewdest intellects, the most painstaking students were destined to employ themselves during two centuries in seeking to establish by historical evidence, by tradition, and by deduction, the "rights" of the English or the French to those regions.' Mr. Willson, who examines the subject with some degree of minuteness, sums up the whole matter by saying: 'On the whole it may be as well for the reader to dismiss the French pretensions. They are no longer of interest, save to the hair-splitting student of the country's annals; but in their day they gave rise to a wilderness of controversy, through which we in the twentieth century may yet grope vainly for light. For all practical purposes the question of priority was settled for ever by the Ontario Boundary Commission of 1844.'

The Company's first public sale took place on the 24th January, 1672. It was the first of those great sales which, during the two past centuries, have made London the centre of the world's fur trade. It was advertised for the 17th November, 1671, but did not come off till the date mentioned above, when it was held in the great hall in Garraway's Coffee-house. Among

the spectators at it were Prince Rupert, the Duke of York, and Dryden the poet, who is said to have improvised on the occasion the following verses :

“ Friend, once 'twas Fame that led thee forth
To brave the Tropick Heat, the Frozen North,
Late it was Gold, then Beauty was the Spur ;
But now our Gallants venture, but for Fur.’

The meetings of the Company were at first held in the Tower, at the Mint, or at Prince Rupert's house in Spring Gardens. Once or twice they met at Garraway's. In 1671 it was resolved to keep minutes and accounts, and to hold stated meetings. A report was spread abroad that Prince Rupert received a handsome sum of money for his trouble in procuring the charter of monopoly. For a long time the capital of the Company was kept a secret ; but in 1749, nearly eighty years after its establishment, it came out that at first the Company's capital was £10,500, representing thirty-four £300 shares, and one share given to Prince Rupert. Great curiosity existed as to the kind of business the Adventurers transacted at their meetings, and the cargoes they sent out. The latter were currently believed to consist of ribbons, beads, toys, trinkets, and other kickshaws. Under the guidance of Radisson, they seem in reality to have consisted of goods much more useful to the Indians, and better calculated to further the end the Adventurers had in view. For the *Prince Rupert* and the *Imploy*, which were to sail in the spring of 1672, the following cargo was prescribed by Radisson and Gillam :—500 fowling-pieces, with powder and shot in proportion ; 500 brass kettles of from two to sixteen gallons apiece ; 20 gross of knives ; and 2000 hatchets.

By the year 1673 affairs on Rupert River had begun to assume a somewhat serious aspect. The opposition of the French was beginning to make itself felt ; the attitude of the Indians was less friendly ; and dissensions were rife among the employees of the Company, due chiefly to the want of tact, and even of common-sense, on the part of Bailey, who had been sent out as governor. Fortunately, on the 24th September in the following year he was superseded

by William Lyddal, but not before he had quarrelled with Groseilliers and Radisson, and been the cause of their leaving the service of the Company. Bailey's conduct was reviewed at a general meeting of the Adventurers specially held for the purpose, and a majority professed that they were well pleased that Groseillier and Radisson had quitted their service. One of the Adventurers, however, was of a different way of thinking. This was Sir John Kirke, Radisson's father-in-law, who predicted that some disaster would result from the treatment the two men had received, and was loud and persistent in asserting the bad faith and unjust suspicions of Bailey.

Kirke's prediction was not far wrong. While Chouart was passing his time inactively at Three Rivers, Radisson made several attempts to establish a northern rival to the Company. Failing in this he joined the French navy, but was shipwrecked in 1679, and lost all his property. The Vice-Admiral wrote in his favour, and the Court granted him a sum of a hundred crowns, and hope was held out to him that he would be entrusted with the command of a frigate. His heart, however, was in the fur trade, and he urged his scheme for ousting the English from Hudson's Bay upon Colbert, the French minister; but in vain. Next he tried to placate the Company, and sought an interview with Prince Rupert, who received him kindly enough, but pointed out that the temper of the Company was such that it would be vain for him to use his interest in an attempt to effect his reinstatement. Radisson then recrossed the Channel, for it seems to have been all one to him which side he served, whether he spent his energies in trying to oust the Company or in furthering its plans. This time Colbert received him with black looks, and in his extremity he applied to the Marquess de Seignely, who at a second interview flatly told him that he was regarded by the King as little better than a traitor, and that his Canadian project met with universal distrust. At this juncture there arrived in Paris M. de la Chesnaye, who was in charge of the fur trade in Canada, at the head of the *Compagnie du Nord*, and had crossed the Atlantic to report upon the intrusion of the English Company. As may be readily understood, Radisson was overjoyed. La

Chesnaye, as Mr. Willson remarks, 'proved a true friend; he evinced himself most heartily in favour of the Government securing the services of Radisson in establishing a rival establishment, on the principle of those of the Company to which he had formerly been attached.'

The Government were in no hurry to assist Radisson. In fact neither in Paris nor in Canada did he obtain the slightest official recognition. In 1681 he joined La Chesnaye in Quebec. Here La Chesnaye was maturing his plans to share the northern trade of the Company, and was busily fitting out a couple of ships for the purpose. The Governor refused to give his official sanction to the enterprise, and Radisson left the country under the pretence of returning to France by way of New England, but, as privately arranged between him and La Chesnaye, he landed on an island in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, where he was picked up by the two ships, and thence sailed along with Groseilliers and his nephew Chouart for Hudson's Bay. On the 26th of August in the following year, 'after innumerable episodes, some of which almost ended in tragedy,' the two vessels entered the Nelson River. Fifteen miles up stream Radisson left Groseilliers to build a fort, while he himself set out in search of natives with whom to trade. On the 12th of the following month he returned, and had hardly arrived when the boom of a gun led to the discovery of another party of adventurers. They turned out to be under the leadership of young Gillam, son of Zachary Gillam, who dissatisfied with his profits under the Company, had resolved to adventure an expedition on his own account from Boston. Needless to say the two parties were agreed in their feelings and aims in respect to the Company, and were soon on good terms with each other. Another arrival was less welcome. A ship cast anchor in the river; next morning a boat was lowered and filled with men, who at once made for the bank where on the previous day Radisson had kindled a fire in order to attract attention, and where in the meantime he had posted his men, all armed, at the entrance of a wood. Ten yards from where the boat grounded, Radisson stood alone with folded arms and in an attitude of defiance. But the rest we must let Mr.

Willson tell. His narrative shows the character and pretensions of Radisson, and is a singular comment upon the story just related.

'One of the crew,' he says, 'had got a leg over the side of the boat when our bushranger cried in a loud voice :—"Hold, in the King's name." And then presenting his carbine, he added, "I forbid you to land." The occupants of the boat were astonished. "Who are you?" they asked, "and what is your business?" "I am a Frenchman," was the answer, delivered in English, "and I hold this country for His Most Christian Majesty, King Lewis!" Radisson signalled to his followers, who emerged from their retreat, making a brave show of their weapons. The *coup* seemed destined to be successful. The leader of the boat party, visibly impressed, standing erect in his craft without any attempt on the part of his followers to land, replied, "I beg to inform you, gentlemen, that we hail from London. Our ship yonder is the *Prince Rupert*, belonging to the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company, and commanded by Captain Zachary Gillam." "You arrive too late. This country is already in the possession of the King of France, and its trade belongs to the Northern Company of Canada."

'A short dispute succeeded. Suddenly changing his tactics, Governor Bridgar, for it was he, feigned acquiescence, admitted that, after all, Radisson might be right, and requested the privilege of landing and saluting him. The two leaders now conversed amicably. Radisson took occasion to elaborate the narrative to which he had recently treated young Gillam without, however, mentioning the circumstance that he had met Benjamin. He did not scruple to allege a lengthy residence in the region, detailing his forces, both French and Indian, with a fine display of exactitude.'

The conversation was continued on board the ship, where Radisson met the elder Gillam, and added to his fine display of mendacity. Governor Bridgar professed absolute credence in all he said, but was not deceived. Radisson had managed that two of the boat's crew should be left on shore as hostages for his own return, and but for these he might have been detained as a guest to ruminate upon his treachery. Bridgar believed in the Company's power, and as he had been sent to build a fort on the Nelson, as soon as Radisson left, the majority of his people set to work to build it, the French party hiding in the woods watching their movements.

On the 28th November, 1682, died Prince Rupert, the first Governor of the Company, and a week later the Duke of York

was chosen as his successor. Fifteen years had now elapsed since the Company was formed. They now owned four ships; and after all the cost of plant, ships, and equipment had been paid the adventurers were making an annual profit of two hundred per cent. on their capital. The policy of the Company was extremely conservative, and though four forts had been built, little was being done to extend the area of its trade. The affairs of the Company were managed parsimoniously, and its servants were not of the best. In 1683 the Governor of Fort Albany was instructed to select from the servants at his fort such as were 'best qualified with strength of body and the country language to travel and penetrate into the country, and to draw down the Indians by fair and gentle means to trade with us.' He replied, 'I shall not be neglectful, as soon as I can find any man capable and willing, to send up into the country with the Indians, to endeavour to penetrate into what the country will and may produce; but,' he adds, 'your Honours should give good encouragement to those who undertake such extraordinary service, or else I fear that there will be few that will embrace such employment.' This niggardly policy was followed by the Company until it was at last absolutely compelled to act more liberally towards its servants as a means of self-preservation.

But to return to Radisson and Groseilliers. For a time they were inactive, but in February, 1682, Radisson paid a visit to Governor Bridgar, saw the elder Gillam's ship in a dangerous position, talked to Bridgar about an imaginary ship which he professed to have somewhere in the neighbourhood, and tried to seduce Gillam from his allegiance to the Company. Next he brought the father and son together, but, failing to secure their co-operation, he returned to Groseilliers at Fort Bourbon. Here a long consultation took place between the two brothers-in-law, the upshot of which was that Radisson paid the younger Gillam another visit, invited him to Fort Bourbon, made him a prisoner there, and then starting with an armed force for Hays' Island, seized the fort young Gillam had built upon the island, and took possession of his ship, the *Susan*. When the news of all this reached Fort Nelson, Bridgar, with the sup-

port of the elder Gillam, decided to head a party of relief. His first point of attack was the *Susan*, but, suspecting the plan, Radisson sent all his available force and overpowered the Governor's men, taking most of them prisoners. Next morning Groseilliers arrived with reinforcements, and the two bushrangers marched upon Fort Nelson, where Bridgar was seeking solace in the rum cask, seized the establishment, and carried off the Governor a prisoner to Fort Bourbon. Some months later Radisson and Groseilliers accompanied Bridgar and his companions to Quebec, whence the ill-starred Governor and young Gillam sailed on board the *Susan*, which the Governor of Quebec had returned to them, for New England. According to Radisson's account, he and Bridgar 'parted on friendly terms.' But in his evidence before the Company he was denounced by Bridgar as 'a cheat, a swindler, and a black-hearted, infamous scoundrel;' while as for the older Gillam, he was heard to declare that he would not die happy until his 'hangar had dipped into the blood of the French miscreant, Radisson.' The two accomplices did not stay long in Quebec. The place was too hot for them. La Chesnaye also was now in no mood to befriend them. He had had the satisfaction of discovering that they had cheated him out of two thousand crowns' worth of furs. Besides, the Governor had received instructions to despatch the two worthies to the Court of France. They left Quebec on the 11th of November, 1683, on board a French frigate for France. The elder Gillam also sailed for England on board the *St. Anne*. The frigate made all haste, but Gillam arrived in Europe before them, and by the time the two brothers-in-law reached Paris all England was ringing with the story of the French encroachments on the Hudson's Bay Company's territories.

In spite of all the harm he had done them, the Adventurers were strangely enough still anxious to secure the services of Radisson, and as soon as it was known that he was in Paris a letter, signed by two of them, was sent to Lord Preston, the British Ambassador, suggesting that 'it might be worth while to see him.' Lord Preston sent his attaché, Captain Godey, to make overtures to him. Godey found him in the third floor of

a house in the Faubourg St. Antoine, surrounded by relatives and boon companions, deeply engaged in drinking healths and retailing his adventures to an appreciative circle. 'He was apparelled,' says Godey, 'more like a savage than a Christian. His black hair, just touched with grey, hung in wild profusion about his bare neck and shoulders. He showed a swarthy complexion, seamed and pitted by frost and exposure in a rigorous climate. A huge scar, wrought by the tomahawk of a drunken Indian, disfigured his left cheek. His whole costume was surmounted by a wide collar of marten's skin; his feet were adorned by buckskin mocassins. In his leather belt was sheathed a long knife.' Godey was well received by the bushranger, who protested that all he and Grosseillier had done was to be laid at the door of the Adventurers, and that they honestly wished to serve them. Strong efforts were made to obtain his services in the French interest, but after a short period of indecision he finally resolved to rejoin the Company, and crossing over to London, he was for a few weeks lionised, presented to the King, and shown off by the Duke of York at the theatre.

On May 17 three vessels left Gravesend for Hudson's Bay. On one of them, named, singularly enough, the *Happy Return*, was Radisson. The weather was favourable, and a quick passage was made. All through the voyage Radisson, who had never borne a part in a joint enterprise without being animated by jealousy and distrust, was in a fever of anxiety lest either of the other two ships should outsail the *Happy Return*. Fortunately for him neither of them did, but when twenty leagues from Port Nelson the ship was so blocked with ice that further progress, except at a raft's pace, was impossible. Radisson persuaded the captain to lend him a small boat and seven men, and in this, after forty-eight consecutive hours of labour, the entrance of the Nelson River was reached. Here Radisson was surprised by the discovery of two ships riding at anchor. One of them was an English frigate; the other was the *Alert*, with the new Governor, William Phipps, on board. Radisson made for the latter, and, after making himself and his allegiance known, was permitted to board the Company's ship.

On making enquiry, he found that the Governor and his men had not dared to land for fear of the French and the Indians, who were considered hostile to the English interests. That was precisely the situation Radisson desired. He now made his way in the direction of the abandoned York factory, with some Indians, and afterwards met with Chouart, his nephew. To Chouart he made the proposal that he should surrender his fort. In this, according to Radisson, the nephew at once acquiesced. According to another, Chouart at first flatly refused to entertain the proposal. However, in the end the uncle had his way, and by this stroke of craft secured for the Company the fort, some 12,000 skins, and merchandise sufficient to barter for seven or eight months to come. He was now all anxiety to return to London to show what great things he had done, and, after a quarrel with the Governor, set sail on the 4th of September. On board ship he managed to conceal his impatience, but on arriving at Portsmouth, while the captain, crew, and Company's servants loitered about the town, waiting for the coach, he made off to a post-house, hired a horse, and scarcely drew rein until he reached the house of Mr. Young, one of the leading Adventurers, in Wood Street, Cheapside. The Honourable Adventurer had retired for the night, but rising in gown and cap he listened to the bushranger's tale. Next morning, at eleven o'clock, he had him to Whitehall, where he had already been himself to tell the good news, and Radisson had the pleasure of recounting to the King and his Royal Highness, the Prince, the great things he had done. He had scarcely left the royal presence, however, when the Deputy-Governor, Mr. Dering, arrived hot foot with Phipps', the Governor's despatch, which put an entirely different complexion upon Radisson's doings. This was the last of Radisson's exploits in the Company's service. When the General Court met, a majority of the Honourable Adventurers felt that they had had enough of him and his ways. He was retired on a pension, which he continued to draw down to 1702, the year of his death. Groseilliers predeceased him by about ten years. Radisson's retiral may be said to have ended the first chapter in the history of the Company.

Another opened immediately. The fortunes of the French in the fur countries had been so badly hurt by Groseilliers and Radisson, that they were fiercely hated. They were burnt in effigy at Quebec, and steps were taken to repair the injury they had done. A new expedition had been sent out to Port Nelson, but had returned to the St. Lawrence without a single beaver. In July, 1685, two other ships belonging to the French Company were returning from Port Nelson in a like bare condition when they fell in with the *Merchant of Perpetuana*, one of the Hudson's Bay Company's ships, bound for York Fort with a cargo of merchandise and provisions. She was at once seized by the Frenchmen and taken to Quebec, where her captain and crew were summarily cast into prison. After a miserable confinement of eleven months they were sent away to Martinique, and there sold as slaves. On Christmas Eve of the same year, the Chevalier de Troyes, a Canadian nobleman and a retired captain in the army, asked the Governor for a commission to drive the English utterly out of the Northern Bay. The commission he received gave him the fullest powers, and, taking with him a force of over a hundred and twenty men, thirty of whom had seen service in one or other of the European wars, he at once set out. Pushing on overland, though the rivers were frozen and the earth covered with snow, he made for Moose Factory, attacked it in the night, and took possession of it for Louis XIV. Fort Rupert was next taken, and a couple of the Company's ships. At Fort Albany the Governor offered a stout resistance, but the courage of his men giving way, after a bombardment lasting a couple of days, he was obliged to surrender. On August 10 the Chevalier turned his face towards Montreal. He took with him no fewer than 50,000 beavers as a trophy of his arms, and compelled many of the Company's servants to carry them. During the long and wearisome march a number of these unhappy captives, through the connivance of the French, were murdered by the Indians.

When the news of all this reached England, an extraordinary meeting of the Honourable Adventurers was held, and a petition was shortly afterwards presented to the King, praying that

he would demand and procure satisfaction to them for the losses and damages they had suffered 'as well formerly as by this last invasion.' Correspondence followed between the British and French Governments, but little came of it. The scene of conflict was too distant, and the conflict still went on. Iberville, who had acted as de Troyes lieutenant, and afterwards became famous in Europe, was sent by the French Governor to complete what the Chevalier had begun. He captured several of the Company's forts and ships, and carried off an immense booty in skins. But the chief object of his desire was the capture of Fort Nelson. It was an object of equally ardent desire on the part of Demonville, the French Governor. Louis also desired its capture, and sent a fleet of no fewer than fourteen ships, under Admiral Tast, to effect it. Iberville, however, refused to co-operate with the fleet. Just before its arrival at Quebec he had returned from the Bay with 80,000 francs worth of beaver skins and 6,000 livres in small furs, and had no mind to share the glory and profit of his freebooting with the Northern Company of Canada or with the Admiral. The fleet therefore sailed back to France ingloriously without effecting its purpose. The same year, however, a frigate, belonging to the enemy, drew up before Fort Nelson, and most of the garrison being away on a hunting expedition, Phipps, the Governor, rather than let it fall into the hands of the French, set fire to it, destroying merchandise to the value of £8000. The following spring, on the arrival of the Company's ships, the Fort was rebuilt stronger and on a larger scale, but on the 15th of the following October, Iberville entered it in triumph, after having subjected it to a bombardment of nineteen days. There being plenty of provisions and merchandise in the place, he passed the winter in it, and leaving a garrison of 67 men behind him, sailed away on the 20th of the following July. On the 24th of August, 1696, it was attacked by the English, when the garrison and an immense quantity of furs fell into their hands. Next year it was again taken by Iberville, but not before he had fought two fierce battles on land and sea. From any attempt at a reconquest the Company was debarred by the Treaty of Ryswick,

which had recently been made and confirmed in the French the possession of the Forts they had taken along the Bay, and were in possession of on the day it was signed.

The fortunes of the Company were now at a low ebb. A petition was presented against it to Parliament; the shares of the Adventurers fell in value; their petitions to the King, the House of Commons, and the Lords of Trade and Plantations, were ineffectual; and the only solace they had was the knowledge that their French rivals were in trouble and were mismanaging the trade from which they themselves had been ousted. At last, finding their petitions to the Lords of Trade without effect, the Company drew up a memorial, and presented it to Queen Anne. The Queen at once espoused their cause, and when the Treaty of Utrecht was completed, it was found that the whole of Hudson's Bay was ceded to Great Britain. The Treaty was signed 31st March, 1713, and on June 5th, in the following year, a Committee of the Adventurers went down to Gravesend and 'delivered to Captain Knight, Her Majesty's Royal Commission, to take possession (for the Company), of York Fort, and all other places within the Bay and Straits of Hudson; also another Commission from Her Majesty constituting him Governor under the Company, and Mr. H. Kelsey Deputy Governor of the Bay and Straits of Hudson aforesaid.' Knight also took with him the French King's order, under his hand and seal, to M. Iérémie, Commander at York Fort, to deliver the same to whom Her Majesty should appoint, pursuant to the Treaty of Utrick.' Thus, after fifteen years of waiting, during which they never lost hope or courage, the Honourable Adventurers came to their own.

When war broke out between Great Britain and France in 1744, the Company resolved that, if possible, the treatment their forts and servants had received at the hands of the Chevalier de Troyes and Iberville should not be repeated. The temper the Honourable Adventurers were in may be seen from some of the instructions they sent out on the outbreak of the war to their various factories:—

'The English and French having declared war *against each other*,' they wrote, 'and the war with Spain still continuing, we do hereby strictly

direct you to be always on your guard, and to keep good watch, and that you keep all your men as near home as possible.

'We do also direct that you fix your cannon in the most proper places to defend yourselves and annoy an enemy, after which you are to fire each cannon once with powder to see how they prove, and instruct your men to the use of them without firing; and that you keep them constantly loaded with powder and ball ready for service. You are also to keep your small arms loaded, and in good order, and at hand, to be easily come at.

. . . and you are to exercise your men once a week till they are well disciplined, and afterwards once a month. And you are also to keep a sufficient number of your trading guns loaded and at hand in case of an attack; and if there be any Indians that you can confide in, and will be of service to you, we recommend it to you to employ them in such manner as you think proper.'

At their earnest request letters of marque were granted to the *Prince Rupert* against both France and Spain. Altogether the attitude of the Company was most belligerent, and continued so till Canada was ceded to Great Britain.

An incident which happened during this war, but as a consequence of another, may be noticed. In the list of proprietors of Hudson Bay Stock, published in 1749, the name of John Stanion is followed by the word 'deceased.' John Stanion was none other than the second Governor of the Company, James II. The exiled monarch had never relinquished his share in the Company, and under the name of John Stanion the dividends had always reached him or his heirs, but after the escape of Prince Charles Edward, by an order of the Company, they were withheld and the stock confiscated.

Meantime the honourable adventurers had had to defend themselves against enemies much nearer than the shores of Hudson's Bay. Their charter had been confirmed by William III. in the first years of his reign, but in 1748 a motion was carried in the House of Commons for the appointment of a Committee of the House to inquire into the state and condition of the countries and trade in Hudson's Bay, and the right the Company professed to have by charter to the property of the land and to exclusive trade to those countries. The object of the motion was obviously to destroy the Company's monopoly and to deprive it of its property around the Bay. The enquiry aroused great national interest. It lasted a

couple of months, during which many witnesses were examined and a great variety of opinion delivered. An idea then prevalent was that a north-west passage existed through Hudson's Bay, and great fault was found with the Company that it had not only not discovered the passage, but had made no attempt to find it. In the course of the enquiry it came out that dull as the times then were, the profit of the Company on the actual paid-up capital was forty per cent., and as may readily be supposed there were not a few in London who were desirous of sharing in so profitable an undertaking. The Committee, however, reported in the Company's favour, and pronounced its charter unassailable. Beaten in this direction several of the Company's enemies tried to obtain a footing on the shore of Labrador in order to draw away some of its trade; but, on the advice of the Attorney-General, Sir Dudley Ryan, and the Solicitor-General, Sir William Murray, afterwards Lord Mansfield, the petition they presented to the Government for a charter was refused.

After the conquest of Canada, the trade of the Company rapidly expanded, but its way was far from smooth. First, the Adventurers discovered that the leakage of furs through the dishonesty of some of their servants was considerable. Next, they had to encounter the hostility of the Indian tribes, the chief among them being the powerful Iroquois. They had troubles, too, with the discontented bushrangers and voyageurs. In 1768 their seamen struck for higher wages, and difficulty was experienced in despatching the year's ships. In 1782 Admiral La Perouse entered the Bay with three men-of-war, and cast anchor before Fort Prince of Wales, which Hearne, who under the auspices of the Company, had made three notable journeys, with scarcely a show of resistance, weakly surrendered. The Admiral then proceeded to Fort York, where again he was easily successful. After ordering the Fort to be burned, he carried the Company's people away prisoners. The damage was estimated at many thousand pounds.

Meanwhile, the competition of the Scottish traders from Canada was threatening the trade of the Company with

absolute ruin. For many years the Company had obtained from Fort York alone at least 30,000 skins a year, but in 1790 the number it received from all its posts did not amount to more than 20,000. In 1783-84 a number of merchants in Montreal had formed themselves into an association, known as the North-West Company, under the leadership of Joseph and Benjamin Frobisher and Simon M'Tavish. The object of the association was distinctly to oppose the Company. No capital was deposited, but each of the sixteen associates or parties in the Company furnished a proportion of such goods as were necessary for the trade, while the 'wintering partners' or the actual traders of these merchants, received corresponding shares of the profits. The servants of the association had thus a direct interest in its prosperity. Two of the chief of these Canadian traders, Pond and Pangman by name, refused to fall in with this scheme, and with the assistance of Alexander Mackenzie, who was afterwards knighted for his discoveries to the north and west of Hudson's Bay, attempted to trade by themselves; but in 1787, after encountering many difficulties and fierce enmity, they gave up the attempt and joined the rest of the merchants. Eleven years later Mackenzie formed another association, known as the New North-West Company, but more popularly as the X. Y. Company. Both the Companies, though opposed to each other, were animated by the same spirit of hostility towards the Honourable Adventurers.

How strong the opposition of the Canadian Companies was may be inferred from the fact that the business of the North-West Company, which in 1788 was worth £40,000, had risen in value in 1798 to £125,000. In 1801 the price paid for furs exported from Quebec at the sales in London was £371,139. The following year the Honourable Adventurers were obliged to borrow £20,000 from the Bank of England. In the spring of 1803 the North-West sent the *Beaver*, a vessel of 150 tons, to Hudson's Bay, with instructions to exploit commerce under the very guns of the Company's forts. At the same time Mackenzie was in London trying to establish a new scheme, which was still further to maim the Company. Five years later (1808), the funds of the Adventurers were so low that no

dividend was paid. Altogether, the Company was in a bad way. The North-West and the new North-West Companies had united. They were said to have formed a plan for systematically driving the Company out of all valuable beaver tracts, and to be entertaining the hope of reducing the fortunes of the Adventurers to so low an ebb as to compel them to make over to them their chartered rights. Collisions between the servants of the rivals became frequent. Schultz, one of the Northmen, murdered Labau, a young lad of about nineteen, because he was on the point of transferring his services to the old Company. At the Big Fall, near Lake Winnipeg, a party of Northmen rifled the Company's stores, and stabbed and otherwise ill-used their servants. On a second visit they carried off a great number of valuable furs, and compelled the trader in charge to sign a paper stating that he had given up the furs voluntarily, though, as a matter of fact, the signature was extorted from him under threats of instant death. Many other outrages were perpetrated by the servants of the North-West Company, and, by the year in which no dividend was paid, the affairs of the Honourable Adventurers had reached a crisis.

But, as the Arabian saying puts it, 'when the night is darkest there is hope, for the dawn is near.' The Adventurers began to bestir themselves. First they petitioned the Lords of the Treasury, but, receiving no substantial help from them, they began to set their house in order, and, imitating their opponents, gave their chief officers a considerable participation in the profits of their trade. Next, they urged and finally succeeded in securing the passing of an Act which gave the Courts of Upper and Lower Canada criminal jurisdiction over the whole of the Indian territory. But the salvation of the Company was practically due to the Earl of Selkirk. To relate all that was done by this generous and enlightened nobleman for the Company and his countrymen, to detail the measures he set on foot, the fierce opposition with which they were assailed, the fightings and murders which were perpetrated in order to prevent their success, together with the many other and varied incidents which

occurred in a conflict which was unquestionably one of the bitterest that was ever waged in connection with a commercial undertaking, would require a volume. Many of them are related by Mr. Willson in his second volume. Here it must suffice to say that finally, with some help from the Government, after infinite labour and many vicissitudes, and with the co-operation of Mr. Ellice of the North-West Company, eventually, though not without strenuous opposition on the part of some of its own members, the Company succeeded. In 1821 an arrangement was come to by which the North-West Company was amalgamated, under conditions which appear to have been equitable for both parties, with the Hudson's Bay Company. The result was beneficial. The country which had so long been disturbed by their contentions settled down, trade increased, the Company's servants went further and further afield, new geographical discoveries were made, the condition of the natives was improved, and the way was prepared for those vast changes in the aspect and character of the country which succeeding years were to bring about.

Difficulties subsequently arose with the United States and Russia in respect to boundaries, the former going as far as to claim the Red River Settlement; but these were all amicably arranged. In 1857 the opponents of the Company again succeeded in getting its rights and privileges examined into by a Committee of the House of Commons, in the expectation, of course, that their schemes against it would be realised. Many witnesses were examined, and at the close of the evidence Mr. Gladstone, who was a member of the Committee, moved a series of resolutions unfavourable to the Company, but by the casting vote of the Chairman, Lord Taunton, they were negatived. In their report the Committee recommended that the Red River and Saskatchewan districts should be ceded to Canada on equitable principles, and that the Company's rule over Vancouver Island should cease; but urged that in the interests of law and order, and of the Indian population, as well as for the preservation of the fur trade, the Company should 'continue to enjoy the privileges of exclusive trade which they now possess.'

On the inception of the great scheme for a trans-continental road and telegraph system in 1862, a proposal was made to buy out the Company. The price suggested was a million and a half. The scheme did not at once succeed, but it was not unfruitful. After much negotiation and not a little discussion, and a good deal of indignation on the part of the 'wintering partners,' a scheme was formulated by Lord Granville, and accepted by the Company. By this scheme the Company ceded all its rights of government, property, etc., in Rupert's Land, and in any other part of British North America in exchange for the sum of £300,000, but retained its right of trade. Canada thus came into possession of the vast territory hitherto owned and governed by the Company, extending to two million three hundred thousand square miles. The scheme contained a valuable reservation. By this, up to fifty years after the date of surrender, in every township or district within the Fertile Belt—a region of 300,000,000 acres in extent, believed to be of great agricultural value—whenver any land is set out for settlement, the Company can claim a grant of land not exceeding one-twentieth of the land so set out.

After yielding the sovereignty of the Great North-West to Canada, the Company, as Mr. Willson observes, 'still ruled, though sceptre and crown had been taken from it.' 'Its continental ascendancy,' as he goes on to add, 'was no whit injured: it is still one of the greatest corporations and the greatest fur company in the world.' Since 1871 its history has not been without stirring incidents, but it has maintained untarnished 'its long record of steady work, enterprise, and endurance'; and no one, we venture to think, will question Mr. Willson's assertion that the 'Great Dominion owes much to the Great Company.'

Much credit is due to Mr. Willson for the skillful and attractive form in which he has presented his narrative. Besides being full of almost romantic incidents, it is a substantial contribution to the history of commerce, and will take a place among the best works of its kind.

ART. III.—WAYLAND THE SMITH.

An Anglo-Saxon, German, and Norse Tale.

IN Southern England there is still the old tale current about Wayland the Smith. He was the Vulcan or Hephaistos of the Anglo-Saxon and other Teuton tribes, as well as of the Norse branch of the great Germanic stock. His very cave is yet shown in Berkshire, and curious magic qualities have from ancient times been attributed to that 'Invisible Smith.'

Thanks to monkish fanaticism, a great deal of the old heroic poetry, and of that which referred to the grand Nature-worship creed of the German race, has been destroyed; only stray bits being, by a lucky chance, recovered here and there. Karl the Great, the Frankish Kaiser, a full-blood German, had the 'barbaric poems of high antiquity' collected, as his biographer, Eginhard, states. But under his successor, Ludwig the Pious, who in his youth had learned those remarkable songs, they were evidently done away with. That ruler, who was under the strict influence of the priesthood, 'would no longer read, nor listen to, nor communicate, those pagan songs.' So we learn from his contemporary, Thegan, the bishop of Trier. Often we have, therefore, to go to Scandinavian or Anglo-Saxon sources for clearing up doubtful points of the heathen creed of ancient Germany.

When we turn to the Edda, the Norse Scripture, which deals with the Gods and Heroes of the Germanic race, we find a highly interesting song about Völundr the Smith—that is, the Anglo-Saxon Wayland, the German Wieland. The Icelandic Edda was written down by Christian hands, but, fortunately, with some respect for the Old Faith. In that collection of songs concerning the divine circle and the heroes of old, Völundr describes himself as a Rhinelander—in other words, as a German. He had been made a captive in the North, and put in fetters. When the Norse king, who holds him as a prisoner, asks Völundr where, as a goldsmith, he had got his great treasures, the magic smith answers:—

'Here, there is no gold as on Grani's path ;
 Far is this land from the hills of the Rhine.
 More of treasures did we possess,
 When hale we sat at home.'

'Grani's path' is a paraphrase for the roads which the horse of Sigurd, or Siegfried, was accustomed to canter upon. These roads were in the Rhinelands, in Germany. It is well known how much gold was once washed out of the sands of the Rhine; large amounts of money being coined from it every year. Sigurd himself, whose name is but one of the frequent Northern contractions from the German name Siegfried, is, in the Edda also, not a Scandinavian, but a Teutonic hero. On the Lower Rhine—even as in the Nibelungen Lied—Sigurd's home is placed by the Icelandic poet. Sigurd is called there a 'Southern,' a 'Hunic,' that is, a German chieftain or prince. Both expressions—southern and Hunic—were synonym for Germans.* The Northmen called us 'southern folk,' even as the Scots, to this day, call an Englishman a 'Southron.'

The Hunes of the Edda have nothing to do with the Mongolic Hunns. Those Hunes over whom Siegfried, or Sigurd, ruled, were dwellers in north-western Germany. There the Hunsrück range and many place-names still bear witness to their former existence as a tribe. In our heroic sagas, names like Hunolt, Hunbrecht, Hunferd, are frequent enough. Humboldt's name means 'bold as a Hune.' In consequence of the Great Migrations, which produced a chaotic state of intermixture, the Hunns of Attila, by an easily comprehensible misunderstanding, took the place, in poetic sagas, of the German Hunes, and of Atli, the ruler on the Lower Rhine.

This Atli name also was a frequent Teutonic one. It still survives in English place-names like Attleborough and Attlebridge. For to England, too, German Hunes came, together with Frisian, Anglo-Saxon, and other German warrior clans—as testified to by the English monk, Baeda, the Venerable Bede, in his *Church History*. There are Anglo-Saxon names composed

* See the Eddic Saga of Atli.

with Hun. A mass of place-names, from southern England up to Shetland, still reminds us of those Teutonic Hunes, who took a part in the making of England. Certainly, no Mongolic Hunns from Attila's army ever came to this country.

In the Rhine, the Hunic Sigurd of the Edda, the son of a king in Frank-land, proves the sword which the dwarf Regin had forged for him by letting a piece of wool down the stream, when the sword clove the fleece asunder as if it were water. Rhine-upwards Sigurd fares to the Gnita Heath to slay the Dragon. The Gnita Heath, according to Scandinavian testimony, lay between Mainz and Paderborn. In the many Eddic songs referring to Sigurd we hear of Burgundians and other Teutonic tribes, of the Rhenish hills and the 'Holy Mountains;' these latter being manifestly the Sieben-Gebirge, which has its name from the sacred number seven. Further southwards, Sigurd rides to Frank-land, where he awakens Brynhild. Murdered by Högni (our Hagen), he sinks down in the south, near the Rhine. In the Eddic poem in question ('Fragment of a Brynhild Song') there is a note at the end, saying that German men (*thydverskir menn*) had said that Sigurd was killed in the forest.

I have mentioned all this because it is calculated to shed light on the transplantation of the German tale about Wieland the Smith to Scandinavia and Iceland, as well as by the Anglo-Saxons to Britain, which they made into an England. Northmen had heard the Wieland, the Siegfried, and other tales in Germany, and carried them to the North. There, those tales were cast into a new poetic form, but their Teutonic origin was not disowned. On the contrary, it was fully acknowledged. German men of Soest, Bremen, and Münster, and dwellers in castles of Lower Saxony, were expressly quoted as sources of such sagas in ancient Scandinavian writings. Twice, in this way, came the Wieland tale to the North. No wonder the famed magic armourer and goldsmith himself mentions the Rhinelands as his home. In the Wilkina Saga, the German sources are clearly given.

II.

Now I come to a subject of a somewhat painful character. Comprehensive erudition, or extensive reading, is unhappily sometimes far from being allied to a proper recognition of the simplest facts or truths. Professor Sophus Bugge, of Christiania, known for his strange views about Northern mythology—in which he thinks he detects merely classic traditions mixed with Christian notions—wrote a paper a short time ago, by which he tries to make out Wieland to have been, not a German, but a *Finn*! As to the Swan-Maidens or Valkyrs, who, according to the Eddic poem ('*Völundar Kvidha*'), came from the South to the famed captive armourer and goldsmith in the North, Professor Bugge endeavours to deny, at least partially, their Germanic character. One of them he makes out to have been an *Irish girl*! At the same time he wants to show that the Wieland tale did not come to England from Germany, but by way of the North. In doing so, he distinguishes, rather unnaturally and unnecessarily, between Anglo-Saxons and Germans. That is as if somebody were to say that the early English settlers in America were not English.

The Finns are undoubtedly a little nation meriting much respect—more particularly so now, since they have been the object of that philanthropic and peace-loving Czar's special care. Against Irish girls nothing shall be said here which could detract from their charms. But whoever reads the Eddic poem about Völundr with an unbiassed mind, cannot but be astounded at the attempted perversion of the plain truth that the captive himself declares the Rhinelands to be his native country. In his argumentation, I regret to say, the Norwegian scholar has laid himself open, moreover, to the charge of having rather surprisingly omitted dealing with facts which he, in his wide reading, must have fully known, but which, because they tell against his own views, he preferred to ignore or to suppress. This is not the proper manner in learned discussions.

The 'Finnish' theory of Professor Bugge reposes on the following circumstances. The Eddic Völundr Song, which probably dates from the tenth century, has a prefacing note tacked

to it by some later scribe, who, regardless of the fact of Völundr declaring himself to be a Rhinelander, designates him and his brothers, Slagfidr and Egil, as sons of a 'Finn King' (*synir Finna konungs*).

We know how these things were often done and muddled in the Middle Ages, when the older and purer folk-traditions had gradually paled. By the way, taking such transmogrifying passages into unmerited account, might we not make out Völundr to have been even an Asiatic or an African? In an old French poem, in which Wieland, by a well-known law of letter-change, appears as Galans, he forges a sword at Damascus and in Persia, which is said to be part of a treasure of Pharaö. Here we are both on Asiatic and African ground.

Maybe that Pharaö was put in the place of a Frankish Pharamund or Faramund; for no doubt the Wieland tale was, with other heroic and divine sagas, brought by the German Franks into Gaul, which by conquest they converted into a Frankish kingdom, even as the Angles gave to Britain the name of Angelland, or England. Mediæval poetry is luxuriously rich in the misunderstanding of names.

In his translation of the Eddic Völundr Lay, Simrock, one of the best authorities, very properly placed a point of interrogation behind the word 'Finn King' in the prefacing note. Jakob Grimm, a still greater authority, asks whether, perchance, Finn, son of Godwulf or Folkwald (*Folcvaldansunu*) may be meant, who in the Anglo-Saxon and Norse pedigrees of Royal families is mentioned as a predecessor of Wodan or Odin. This Finn, it need scarcely be said, belongs to the German race.

One might have expected that Professor Bugge, who shows his full reading by numerous quotations, would have mentioned and dealt with Grimm's noteworthy hint. But there is not a word of reference to it in the treatise of the Norwegian writer.

Grimm could truly have said even more. Finn is to this day a family name in Germany, Scandinavia, and Ireland. It was evidently brought to Ireland by the Finnians, Fianna, or Fenians—that semi-mythical, fair-haired, blue-eyed, martial North folk, which, like men of the Germanic stock in general,

was also much given to the cult of the cup, and which had come to Ireland over the sea from Lochlann, that is, Norway. In Ireland, it got the mastery for a time over the Kelt-Iberian natives. These Finnians, or Fenians, represent the first wave of the historical Norwegian and Danish conquerors, who from the ninth to the twelfth century ruled over the Green Isle. An Irish tale speaks of such Finnians having come both from Scandinavia and from Germany. Frisian Teutons were unquestionably mixed with the Scandinavian sea-dogs who took hold of Ireland. I may add that the island of Fühnen in the Baltic was of yore called Fiona.

On English soil, a number of place-names like Finningham, Finningley, Finney, Findern, are characteristic enough. The Anglo-Saxon saga knows a chieftain called Finn, in struggles in which a Hengist appears. But as little as Mongolic Hunns ever visited England, did Finns of Finland come to this country.

The real Finns originally called themselves *Suomalainen*—morass-dwellers. Now, the Germanic Finnian or Fiona name—which an Irish disruptionist party has unduly adopted, as if it had reference to their own heroic forebears—may easily have given rise to a misunderstanding which led to the designation of *Völundr* as the son of a Finn King. Nay, it is even possible, as Grimm suggests, that the author of the note mentioned did not think of the Finns at all, but had a Germanic Finn in his mind. However that may be, even supposing that the writer of the note had wished to localise the scene of *Völund's* art-working in Finnmarken, in the poem itself the famed smith says he is a Rhineland. That settles the point.

The various names in the Eddic song are also mostly recognisable as Germanic ones. Finnish they are not. But how weak the argument of Professor Bugge is, may be seen from a few further specimens.

The real Finns—kindred, as Ugrians, to the Mongols—are not distinguished by whiteness of skin. They are rather slightly yellowish. Yet, in the Eddic Lay, the 'white neck' of the Rhenish smith is specially mentioned. He is also said to be a Light Elf. Such descriptions in ancient poetry are always given for a manifest, so to say ethnographical, purpose.

Here, Professor Bugge, trying to get out of this difficulty, says that it is not necessary, after all, that Völundr, as a King's son, should have been of *pure* Finnish blood. Another argument is still more curious. Völundr prepares for himself some roasted bear's flesh at the fire by means of fir-wood. That is quite in keeping with old Norse habits and poetry; but the Norwegian writer deduces therefrom that the scene must be in Finnmarken, because there are bears there as well as forests of fir and birch trees!

But were there not bears once in the whole North, nay, also in Germany, whither even now such an animal occasionally strays? And are there fir and birch trees only in Finnmarken, and not also in Sweden and Norway—not to speak of Germany?

As to whether the Wieland or Wayland tale came, in Professor Bugge's view, to England from the North, or rather by the Angles, the Saxons, and other German tribes, this is a point of little importance. The probability is on the latter side. But why does Professor Bugge not mention the fact of Godfrey of Monmouth speaking of Wayland's home being in the Sigen country—that is, in the German Rhinelands? Is it allowable to suppress such a reference as this:—

'. . . . aurum, gemmasque micantes,
Pocula, quae sculpsit Guilandus in arbe Sigeni.'

'The Sigen country,' says Simrock in his *Deutsche Mythologie*, 'still famous for its mining, was already known far and wide, in the early Middle Ages, for its artistic work.' Why should Professor Bugge neither quote Godfrey of Monmouth nor Simrock's telling remarks?

In his observations on Wieland's brother, Egil the Marksman, Professor Bugge says that the town of Aylesbury in England bears, from olden times, Egil's name; but that no hero of the German saga is known under that name! Well, should Professor Bugge not know what can be read in Simrock and Grimm—namely, that Völund's brother, Egil, is known in the German tale as Eigel the Marksman, and that, as such, he is almost as famous as Wieland the Smith? Again, should he not know that there is a German tale of King Eigel of Trier; that in the

Rhine and Mosel districts there are the curious Eigel Stones; and that the family name Schützeichel (Eigel the Marksman) occurs to this day on the Lower Rhine? These facts must have been known to Professor Bugge. Why does he not refer to them? Or should he really be unacquainted with Simrock and Grimm? It is an impossible assumption.

In the same way, nothing is said in his treatise about the many ancient German place-names connected with Wieland, such as Welantes Gruoba, Wielantesheim, Wielantisdorf, Wielantes Tanna, Wielandes Brunne. It is true, he quotes the oldest German testimony concerning Wieland, from the Latin Walthari poem (about the year 930). He also mentions that in the German poem, 'Friedrich von Schwaben,' Wieland, as well as the Swan Maidens, appear. I need not say that their figures occur also in the Nibelungen Lied, where Hagen takes their feathery garments from them, in order to compel them to utter a prophecy.

In the Nibelungen Lied they are called 'Sea Women,' although they rise, up and down the stream, like birds on the river Danube. This characterisation as Sea Women is, it seems to me, another proof that our ancient, but lost, Siegfried songs—which are fortunately preserved, in Norse form, in the Edda—were originally localised throughout in north-western Germany, not far from the North Sea. Although, by a misunderstanding, the revenge for Siegfried's death was afterwards transferred to the Danube; in Attila's realm, the name of Sea Women still clings to the prophecying semi-Goddesses in feathery garb.

III.

In the Edda the three spell-working maidens fly through Myrkwidr, the Black Forest, in swan's garments, to the North. Their names are purely Germanic. They are called Hladgud Swan-White, Hervör All-Wise (or perhaps All-White), and Aelrun. Two of them are daughters of King Lödwer, whose name—as even Professor Bugge avows—is synonymous with the German name Ludwig. Aelrun is described as a daughter of Kiar, of Wal-land or Welsh-land.

In the Eddic poem itself, however, the word 'Wal-land' does not occur; only in the prose note before mentioned. What country is meant thereby—whether Gaul, where the Franks, or Britain, where other Germanic tribes had penetrated, by whom the natives were called 'Walas,' or Welsh people, a name also applied by the Germans to the Italians—it is impossible to say. At any rate, the author of the *Völundr Lay* is as little responsible for this word 'Wal-land,' as for the word 'Finn King.' In the poem we simply hear that the three Swan Virgins, after having for seven years been the wives of *Völundr* and his brothers, felt a yearning for *Myrkwidr*, the dark or black forest, which lay in the South, and from which they had once come.

These Maidens are called 'southern women.' That denotes them as figures of Teuton origin. They are Valkyrs, as may be seen from the first verse of the Eddic Lay, where it is specially said of *Hervör All-Wise* or *All-White*, that she had come to the North in order to decide about battle-strife. On the sea-shore the three are sitting, spinning beautiful flax. That is a darkened indication of their weaving the fate of men, like the Norns, or Sisters of Fate, whose figures often slide into those of the Valkyrs. In the Edda the Valkyrs, or Battle Virgins, the Choosers of the Slain, also are called 'southern women,' or southern semi-goddesses (*dísir sudhroenar*). So they are named in the First Lay of *Helgi the Hunding-Killer*. Thus the Icelandic Edda bears witness to Norns and Valkyrs having been creations of Teuton mythology.

In fact, a remarkable stone image, evidently representing the three Sisters of Fate, was discovered years ago at a cloister in Bavaria, which, no doubt, had been built on an old temple site of German heathens, in accordance with a well-known rule of the Roman Church. It was thought that the Old Faith could best be disestablished by laying hold of its own sacred grounds.

From *Kiar's* name Professor Bugge tries to conclude that the third Swan Maiden may be an Irish girl. His tentative suggestions of the connection between the word 'Kiar' and various Keltic names are wholly uncertain. Certain, however, it is that *Kiar's* daughter, too, bears a Germanic name. Moreover, she is

described as being of the same kinship with the others (*kunn var Oelrún Kjars dóttir*).

However, in order to save his Keltic theory, the Norwegian writer boldly suggests an alteration of the Icelandic text. That is an easy way of getting over a difficulty. Instead of the poem saying that Egil had clasped one of the fair Maidens to his comely breast (*fögr maer fira*), we are asked to read: *fögr maer Ira*—that is, the Irish girl. It is really too great a liberty to take.

On this occasion, the Norwegian author remarks that there are noteworthy affinities between the spirit of ancient Irish and Norse poetry. Quite true. It holds good, for instance, in regard to the so-called Fenian Poems, which, having come down to us in Keltic language, refer to the Germanic Finnians, the conquerors of Ireland. But these Finnians, as has already been shown, were not Kelts, or Iberians, like the natives of the Green Isle. They were Northmen; and that accounts for the affinity of spirit. The very reverse of what Professor Bugge attempts to prove is thus the case.

Nearly-correct is his statement that the Eddic song about Völundr is wholly lacking in those artificial poetical paraphrases, the so-called *kenningar* of the North. There are, however, I would point out, two of them in the *Völundarkhvida*. One of them is the description of Völund's fatherland as 'Grani's path.' The very circumstance of the absence of all such paraphrases in the Icelandic text rather points, I should think, to a close ancient connection with German poetry, which was of a simpler, less artificial style. For this reason, too, we may say with Simrock that the Norse Lay of Völundr 'has come from a German source, and that a poem of that kind must have been known in Germany even at a comparatively later time.' Jakob Grimm, on his part, brings to mind that in the Middle Ages the memory of Wieland was still upheld among German smiths, whose smithies were called 'Wieland Houses.' Perhaps, in Grimm's view, the image of Wieland was set up before, or painted upon, the walls of those houses.

Professor Bugge only mentions by a few words the connection

between the Wieland tale and the Greek one about Daidalos. On this subject, too, Grimm has already said in the main that which can be said. He thinks the name of Wieland must have arisen from a German verb denoting skill in art. Then he goes on:—‘This inner significance of the hero’s name receives, however, a surprising confirmation by a manifest analogy with the Greek fables about Hephaistos, Erichthonios, and Daidalos. Even as Veland does violence to Beadohild (Völundr to Bödhvildr), so also Hephaistos tries to ensnare Athene when she comes to him to have weapons forged for her. Both Hephaistos and Völundr are punished by being lamed; and Erichthonios, too, is lame, who therefore invents the four-horse car, even as Völundr invents the boat and wings. With Erichthonios, the later Erechtheus, and his descendant Daidalos, are equivalent figures; the latter being the originator of various artistic contrivances—for instance, of the wings with which his son fell down from the clouds.’ And so on.

It is impossible to make out whether the Wieland tale and the Greek tale have come from an original earlier one, or how far the Teutonic saga was afterwards influenced by the Hellenic one. In Eastern Europe and in Asia Minor, in Greece itself, the great Thrakian race, kindred to the Germanic Scandinavians and to the Teutons, dwelt of yore in pre-Hellenic times. The Greek writers themselves fully acknowledge how much their nation was indebted to the Thrakians in mythology and heroic saga, in religious ceremonies and philosophical views, in music, and in the poetry connected with it.

Nobody can deny that creeds following each other have often undergone intermixture; much of the Old Faith being taken over into the new one. That may be seen in the Indian Pantheon, in which there are figures also from the creed of the subjected Drawidian populations. The same was the case with Hellenic mythology, in which Thrakian and other northern, Phoenikian and Egyptian component parts are discernible. The same holds good for the religion of the Romans. Not less so for the creed, the legends, and the ceremonies of the Papal Church, which contains, in

its doctrines, many ancient heathen legends of southern and eastern, of Germanic and Keltic origin.

In a far lesser degree this can be averred of Scandinavian mythology. Some Christian interpolations there are—for instance, in the Prose Edda, in reference to the creation of the world. But these interpolations are in gross contradiction with other passages giving the real Germanic cosmogony. Such forgery is easily detected. In the same way, a monk's hand inserted in Josephus' work on Jewish Antiquity—as is universally acknowledged now by the most orthodox theologians—a passage about Christianity, which is now given up as a manifest forgery.

It is not the place here to enter into Professor Bugge's general views about Northern mythology—views full of strange exaggerations. My object only was to show in what arbitrary way attempts are made to set aside the best ascertained facts—apparently for the sole purpose of cutting, on the domain of heroic and legendary lore, the connection between the Anglo-Saxons and their nearest kinsmen, the Teutons. Having myself always upheld the matchless service and merit of the Scandinavian, North Germanic race in the matter of the preservation of the ancient creed and poetry of our common stock, I may truly say that I am judging without undue bias. Though the Norsemen have not a finished Nibelungen Epic as we have, I have always contended that the Eddic lays concerning the Siegfried tale are full of the most signal epic and dramatic power—all the more so because in them the unalloyed spirit of Germanic heathendom is maintained.

To every one his due! But when an endeavour is made to divide the Anglo-Saxon from the German, or even to convert an ancient heroic figure of the Rhinelands into a Finn, we must say, in Goethe's words, which Simrock has prefixed to his 'Handbook of German Mythology, including that of the North':

Dies ist unser ; so lasst uns sagen, und so es behaupten !

KARL BLIND.

ART. IV.—THE LITERARY INSPIRATION OF IMPERIALISM.

TO treat in a non-partisan spirit of the most burning of all present-day public questions in the pages of a non-political magazine is to execute an egg dance of no common difficulty. The war in South Africa is not yet over; perhaps the end is not yet in sight. The controversy over the events which caused the precipitation of hostilities is being waged as fiercely as ever. The names of Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Kruger evoke as passionate demonstrations as they did six months ago. The mere idea of a 'pro-Boer' meeting still suggests the possibility—which, indeed, ought not to have been forgotten by any reader of previous passionate episodes in British history—that free hissing is not necessarily opposed to, but is rather a phase of free speech. The author of *The Areopagitica* was the greatest champion of freedom of speech that the world has produced, but being also the greatest of pamphleteers, he claimed and exercised to the full his right to hiss, groan, and cat-call his chief opponents, such as Salmasius, out of existence.

But we have reached a period in the South African struggle when we can think of and even have glimpses of the divinity that has been shaping our ends, regardless of our rough hewing. The stage of self-preservation has passed; the stage of philosophic and deliberate 'settlement' will ere long be entered upon. We can now stand erect on the summit of the South African kopje without any apprehension of a rain of bullets from Boer political Mausers; we can from it, as from a Pisgah, survey the Promised Land. For 'we are all Imperialists now,' much more truly than according to Sir William Harcourt, 'we are all Socialists now.' The differences between 'Liberal Imperialism,' 'Sane Imperialism,' 'Common-Sense Imperialism,' and 'Jingo Imperialism' may not be quite unreal or academic. If they savour of hair-splitting, they tend also to party-splitting. But Imperialism transcends our political distinctions and distractions. It is an idea, a passion, a worship, a fascinating siren, such as inspired

that poet who surpassed even Keats in his sensitiveness to Beauty :—

‘ Ligeia ! Ligeia !
My beautiful one,
Whose harshest idea
Will to melody run.’

When we think of the uprising of the British nation after that black week which witnessed the disasters—as they then seemed—of Magersfontein, Stormberg, and the Tugela, and when we look at the rush of Australians and Canadians to meet, live, and even die together on the South African veldt, we cannot help feeling dimly conscious that we are in the presence of one of those gregarious ideas through whose dominance death is swallowed up of victory, that caused the best blood in Europe to be spent in the Crusades, and sent the best brains in England to seek Empire and plunder on the Spanish Main.

Like everything else which has stimulated men and altered the careers of nations, Imperialism has its feet of clay as well as its head of gold. Like Cromwell, whose worship it has served in such a remarkable manner to revive, it is a compound of realism and mysticism. It is the function of literature, according to that great critic whose place, now that he has ‘ passed, not softly but swiftly, into the silent land,’ has not been filled, to apply ideas to life. How has Literature discharged this idea towards Imperialism ? To what extent is it responsible for recent and passing events ? And in this connection we must think both of the feet of clay and of the head of gold. In the first instance, what is Imperialism as a historical fact ? In the second place, what is Imperialism as a sentiment—divine or diabolic—which carries strong nations, as passion carries strong men, off their feet ?

Imperialism, by whatever adjective, such as ‘ Sane ’ or ‘ Common-sense,’ it may be qualified, involves attachment to, or faith in the British Empire. What, in turn, is the British Empire ? In this case *fas est ab hoste doceri*. Mr. Goldwin Smith is well known as a very able man and a very diligent student of British—perhaps it might be more accurate to say English—history,

but he is the last man to be accused of 'Jingoism.' He is a Unionist, but Lord Beaconsfield once styled him 'a wild professor.' So little of an advocate of Imperialism or Expansion, in the limited or specially British sense, has he been, that he has persistently advocated the annexation to the United States of Canada, which has been his second home. In his latest work, *The United Kingdom*, he thus pronounces upon Imperialism as an historical fact:—

'The British Empire embraces at this day, besides the thirty-nine millions of people in the two islands, three hundred millions in India and twenty millions, more or less, in colonies scattered over the globe. Instead of being sea-girt, England has an open land frontier of four thousand miles, allowing for indentation, in North America, besides the whole northern frontier of Hindostan. To hold this empire she has to maintain a fleet, not only for her own defence and that of her trade, but for her command of all the seas. An empire this vast aggregate of miscellaneous possessions is called. To part of them the name is misapplied, and the misapplication may lead to practical error. Empire is absolute rule, whether the imperial power be a monarchy, like the Persian or the Spanish; an aristocracy, like the Roman or the Venetian; or a commonwealth, like Athens of old and Great Britain at the present day. In the case of the British possessions, the name is properly applicable only to the Indian empire, the crown colonies, and fortresses or naval stations such as Gibraltar and Malta. It is not properly applicable to self-governing colonies such as Canada, Australia, and the Cape, which, though nominally dependent, are in reality independent; do not obey British law; do not contribute to British armaments; and are at liberty even to wage commercial war against the mother-country by levying protective duties on her goods. The word "colony," too, is used in a misleading sense, as if it were synonymous with dependent, or were limited to colonies retaining their political connection with the mother-country. The colonies of England which now form the United States did not cease, on becoming independent, to be English colonies. In the feudal notion of personal fealty, which led the colonist to think that even at the ends of the earth he remained indefeasibly the liegeman of the British King, combined, perhaps, with the notion, also feudal, of the crown as supreme land-owner, we probably see the account of the political tie between the British colonies and the British crown. The *Mayflower* exiles, in their compact before landing, described themselves as loyal subjects of King James, who had undertaken, for the glory of God, the advancement of the Christian faith, and the honour of their King and country, to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia. Had the exiles of the *Mayflower* been citizens of a Greek republic, they would have taken the sacred fire from

the hearth of the mother city and gone forth to found a new commonwealth for themselves, owning no relation to its parent but that of filial respect and affection.'

This passage is of value because it demonstrates not only what Imperialism—in so far as it involves attachment to the British Empire—certainly is *not* in the sense of historical fact, and what it vaguely *is* in the sense of historical sentiment. It is *not* absolute rule in the strict and only proper meaning of the phrase—the meaning in which we speak of the Roman Empire of the past and of the Russian Empire of to-day. Mr. Smith says that in the case of the British possessions 'the name is properly applicable only to the Indian Empire, the Crown Colonies, and fortresses or naval stations such as Gibraltar or Malta.' Fortresses may be left out of consideration. They are under military government and exist for military reasons. But the British rule of the Crown Colonies, of India—and it may for the sake of argument be added of Egypt—is characterised by a different Imperialism from the Roman or the Russian. It means government not for the sake of fortune to individuals or even of glory to the nation, but for the sake of civilisation—in other words, for the diffusion of peace and justice over regions where these blessings have hitherto been unknown. Unless we demean ourselves in India, in Egypt, and as the result will no doubt show, in South Africa, as if we were the trustees of civilisation, we shall have failed to accomplish our professed mission and to be unequal to bearing 'The White Man's Burthen' with dignity and moral profit. Unless indeed Imperialism is an essentially noble ideal—it may be imperfectly understood here, still more imperfectly practised there—it will fail. In the meantime, it is an attempt to give harmony, and, if one may say so in such a connection, the heartiness of a chorus to the otherwise differing sentiments that animate the collocation of self-governing States, Crown Colonies, and ancient Empires over which the British flag flies. Mr. Goldwin Smith has shown how the sentiment of feudalism, of personal fealty, animated the *Mayflower* settlers when they established themselves on the North American continent. That was quite compatible with the sturdy maintenance of rights and privileges; so indeed the quarrel which

ended in the establishment of the independence of the United States was to prove. There never was a greater Imperialist even in the modern sense than Chatham; and it may therefore safely be assumed that he would not in that memorable last speech of his have defended the 'schismatic' action of the colonists had he not been certain that their vindication of their 'rights' was not quite compatible with loyalty to the central *Mayflower* idea.

That the New England idea is very different from that usually associated with the phrase, 'Little England,' is now indeed almost startlingly manifest. The United States left to themselves, and with the ample facilities for 'expansion' afforded by the size of the continent on which they are the most considerable Power, have developed an Imperialism of their own, and one which has, on the surface, but a remote connection with the Monroe doctrine. And in considering the literary inspiration of Imperialism generally, we cannot do better than take an American illustration. Walt Whitman lived and wrote before the recent war between the United States and Spain, and the consequent appearance of his beloved Republic among the World-Powers interested in the Far Eastern problem, with the almost innumerable complications which that involves. That even before then there prevailed a passion for American unity equivalent to that similar passion which here we call Imperialism, the following passage shows:—

'The highest separate personality of these States will only be fully coherent, grand and free, through the cohesion, grandeur, and freedom of the common aggregate—the Union. This is what makes the importance to the identities of these States of the thoroughly fused, relentless, dominating Union—a moral and spiritual idea subjecting all the parts with remorseless power. What needs most fostering through the hundred years to come, in all parts of the United States—North, South, Mississippi Valley, and Atlantic and Pacific Coasts—is this fused and fervent identity of the individual, whoever he or she may be, whatever the place, with the idea and fact of American totality, and with what is meant by the flag, the stars, the stripes. We need this conviction of nationality as a faith to be absorbed in the blood and belief of the people everywhere—South, North, West, East—to emanate in their life and in native literature and art. We want the germinal idea that America, inheritor of the past, is the custodian of the future, of humanity. Judging from history, it is

some such moral and spiritual ideas proper to them (and such ideas only) that have made the profoundest glory and endurance of nations in the past.'

Mr. Rudyard Kipling is commonly regarded as the Tyrtæus of Imperialism, and the influence of his writings in the way both of fostering the passion of Imperialism and of expressing its moods will be dealt with later on. But here we have an American of the Americans, a democrat of the democrats, the latter-day poet of 'liberty, fraternity, and equality,' who, lacking in humour—otherwise he might have been the trans-Atlantic Burns—has carried the doctrine of 'the brotherhood of man, the sisterhood of woman' to the verge of farce, giving expression to what we on this side of the Atlantic call the Imperial sentiment with that poetical ardour which can only be explained by sincerity. This 'fused and fervent identity of the individual, whoever he or she may be, whatever the place, with the idea and fact of American totality, and what is meant by the flag,' this 'moral and spiritual idea subjecting all the parts with remorseless power,' certainly holds of the United Kingdom as fully and as absolutely as of the United States. It may be doubted if even yet Imperialism as 'a moral and spiritual idea subjecting all the parts of the Empire with remorseless power' is thoroughly understood by the poets who sing or the politicians who practise it. That must be effected before it can be 'absorbed in the blood and belief of the people everywhere.' Meanwhile a sufficiently wonderful feat has been accomplished. An idea has been found for which the same enthusiastic loyalty can be manifested as was evoked by the older political watchwords—by the Throne, by the Dynasty, by 'Our glorious Constitution.' And the romantic fascination of the idea has been heightened by the fact that the Queen who, in the earlier years of her reign, showed herself equal to the task of embodying as it had never been embodied before the doctrine of limited monarchy—the crowned Republic's crowning common-sense—should, in what must necessarily be the latest period of her reign, have shown herself not less equal to the task of indicating the practical meaning of Imperialism.

That Imperialism should become a force—in some respects the prominent force—in our literature, was as 'inevitable' as the

war in South Africa itself. At the present moment we are not specially concerned with the non-literary 'con-causes' of Imperialism, except to the extent that literature is or ought to be the application of all ideas to life. That Imperialism is allied to, and has been fostered by the recent British delight in athleticism, is as certain as that it is a passionate and yet philosophic protest for nationalism as a force in the life of the world against Internationalism, especially in the destructive forms of Socialism and Nihilism. But, looking to Victorian literature, and the great names which were all-influential in those decades of it which are quite familiar to middle-aged men, it is really one of the most easily explicable of phenomena. On the moral side it is a protest against the merely materialistic view of life—the notion that a man is to be valued not according to the good that is done through his influence while he lives, but by the amount of wealth he leaves behind him. However much 'the simple great ones gone' of the Victorian era may have differed from each other—Carlyle from Arnold, Ruskin from Swinburne, Clough from Browning—they have agreed in holding up to scorn and reprobation that materialistic conception of happiness, which has naturally obtained great importance in a reign so remarkable for its fat years of prosperity as that of the present sovereign.

But Imperialism goes back further than the Victorian era, to the time when Byron captivated Europe, even although he was boycotted in Great Britain, with 'the pageant of his bleeding heart.' His romantic heroes, and still more romantic villains, his Corsairs and his Laras, dashed their heads as gallantly and as ineffectually against their prison walls of conventional Philistine sentiment as he did himself. But the strength of Byronism, apart from the views on special things with which it will be associated, lies in energy and in action. Imperialism means, therefore, the revival of Byronism, an attempt to place action above speculation on the one side, and above materialism on the other side. Mr. George Meredith, who, more than any living man of letters, represents the transition between the older and the younger Victorian ideas, puts into the mouth of one of his best characters, Alvan of 'The Tragic Comedians'—notoriously and even confessedly

Ferdinand Lassalle, the orator and inspirer of German Social Democracy—a theory and special application of the Byronic gospel of action. When Clotilde first heard him (Alvan) speak, ‘His theme was action; the political advantages of action, and he illustrated his view with historical examples to the credit of the French, to the temporary discredit of the German and English races, who lead to compromise instead. Of the English he spoke as of a power extinct—a people “gone to fat,” who have gained their end in a hoard of gold and shut the door upon bandit ideas. Action means life to the soul as to the body. Compromise is virtual death; it is the path between cowardice and comfort under the title of expediency. . . . Let then our joy be in war; in uncompromising action, which need not be the less a sagacious conduct of the war. Action energizes men’s brains, generates grander capacities, provokes greatness of soul between enemies, and is the guarantee of positive conquest for the benefit of our species.’

These words are worth noting. Mr. Meredith is generally recognised as the first novelist of the day; if there can be truly said to be any rival near his throne, it is Mr. Thomas Hardy, like himself a novelist with a purpose, and one even more persistently tragic than his. Mr. Meredith has only now come into his kingdom, in the sense of even a circulating-library popularity. But from his first appearance he has been an influence with the intellectually select, and there can be no doubt that, through their power in turn, much of his teaching—for in spite of his capacity as an interpreter of what he himself terms the Comic Muse he is too serious not to be intentionally didactic—has been conveyed into the actions of the present generation, which of necessity knows him rather as a master, and a mystery, than anything else. Who does not recognise in the words he has put into the mouth of Lassalle—Lassalle is even more deserving than Heine of being considered the German Byron—the Continental contempt of the British nation as ‘a power extinct, a people gone to fat, who have gained their end in a hoard of gold and shut the door upon bandit ideas!’ That contempt should breed exasperation is the most natural thing in the world. The remarkable patience, with which since the present war began,

the British people have borne Continental insults, may yet be found to have been ominous, to have indicated a grim determination to show the world, if ever a suitable chance came, that such contempt was not justified.

But mere 'bandit ideas' have never had any permanent influence in this country; the Byronic theory of life has been infinitely more fruitful in Paris than in London. There may have been in the past, and there may again be in the future, outbreaks of Berserkerism in our literature, but never of sheer brigandage or buccaneering. Action, merely for the sake of action, war simply as a means of giving vent to energy, have never been appreciated as a moral meal for the nation, although they may have tickled the appetite as a sauce. For the truly commanding force in present-day literature one inevitably and almost instinctively goes back to Carlyle—because, in spite of his violence and his frequent injustice where individuals are concerned, he represents the permanently serious side of what is at bottom a serious people. He loved Byron, but he had no sympathy with Byronism. He denounced Napoleonism—between which and Byronism there are many ties of sympathy, affinity, and more—as Dick Turpinism; during the Franco-German War he denounced France as 'the Cartouche of nations.' But, as all the world knows—knows *ad nauseam*—he was a hero-worshipper. And, although it is possible that, in certain respects, his influence has latterly been on the wane, the revival of the worship of Cromwell as the best type of British influence abroad, as the incarnation of what most of us would wish a 'spirited foreign policy' to be, is evidence that the true gospel of Carlyle is still a power—an unconscious and indirect power perhaps—with the British mind. The germs at all events of the modern preaching of Action as a protest against Materialism, as an escape from the despair and scepticism which Matthew Arnold has 'moulded in colossal calm,' are found here.

'The works of a man, bury them under what guano-mountains and obscene owl-droppings you will, will not perish, cannot perish. What of Heroism, what of Eternal Light was in a Man and his Life is with very great exactness added to the Eternities; remains forever a new divine portion of the Sum of Things. No nobler feeling than this of admiration

for one higher than himself dwells in the breast of man. It is to this hour and at all hours the vivifying influence in man's life. Religions, I find, stand upon it. . . . What, therefore, is loyalty proper, the life-breath of all society, but an effluence of Hero-worship, submissive admiration for the truly great? Society is founded on Hero-worship. . . . I seem to see in this indestructibility of Hero-worship the everlasting adamant, lower than which the confused wreck of revolutionary things cannot fall. . . . Silent, with closed lips, as I fancy them, unconscious that they were specially brave; defying the wild ocean with its monsters, and all men and things, progenitors of our own Blakes and Nelsons. Hrolf or Rollo, Duke of Normandy, the wild Sea-King, has a share in governing England at this hour. . . . No wild Saint Dominics and Thebaid Eremites, there had been no melodious Dante; rough, practical Endeavour, Scandinavian and other, from Odin to Walter Raleigh, from Nefela to Cranmer, enabled Shakespeare to speak. Nay, the finished Poet, I remark sometimes, is a symptom that his epoch itself has reached perfection and is finished; that before long there will be a new Epoch, new reformers needed.'

The strain here is not only of a higher mood than that represented in the quotation from *The Tragic Comedians*, but it comes nearer to that actual temper of the younger and more enterprising section of the nation which has found vent in Expansion, and which has been at least the advance-guard of Imperialism. These old heroes, 'silent, with closed lips, unconscious that they were specially brave, defying the wild ocean with its monsters,' have been in a measure, at all events, reproduced in the 'still, strong men'—the humbler, the more heroic—who have given the defences of Ladysmith, Mafeking, and Kimberley a not unimportant place in British military annals.

Carlyle's greatest disciple, and most articulate—not forgetting Ruskin, Dickens, and, Browning—was Tennyson. We are apt to forget that the author of *The Idylls of the King*, and *In Memoriam* was also the author of *Riflemen Form*. Mr. Frederic Harrison has gone so far as to express regret that this side of Tennyson could not be forgotten. And yet, as Lord Lansdowne's new scheme for the defence of the Empire clearly proves, the volunteer movement, which originated in the threats of invasion uttered by Napoleon the Third's colonels, was the concrete beginning of Imperialism. Here, indeed, we have the spirit, though not the music-hall air of Kipling, the conten-

tion that domestic reforms should be postponed to the great work of setting the defences of the Empire in order.

' Be not deaf to the sound that warns,
Be not gall'd by a despot's plea ;
Are figs of thistles, or grapes of thorns ?
How should a despot set men free ?

' Let your reforms for a moment go,
Look to your butts and take good aims,
Better a rotten borough or so
Than a rotten fleet or a city in flames.'

The spirit of Imperialism, so far as Tennyson is concerned, is, however, to be found at its best in 'Maud':—

' I stood on a giant deck, and mix'd my breath
With a loyal people shouting a battle-cry,
God's just wrath shall be wreck'd on a giant liar ;
And many a darkness into the light shall leap,
And shine in the sudden making of splendid names,
And noble thought be freer under the sun,
And the heart of a people beat with high desire ;
For the peace that I deem'd no peace is over and done.
And now by the side of the Black and the Baltic deep,
And deathful-grinning mouths of the fortress, flames
The blood-red blossom of war, with a heart of fire.'

On this outburst M. Taine remarks :—

' Men said that he was imitating Byron ; they cried out against these bitter declamations ; they thought that they perceived the rebellious accent of the Satanic school ; they blamed this uneven, obscure, excessive style ; they were shocked at these crudities and incongruities ; they called on the poet to return to his first well-proportioned style. He was discouraged, left the storm clouds and returned to the azure sky !'

This is, however, a vastly clever and thoroughly French way of saying both that Tennyson was considerably in advance of his time and that he was not so much a man of war as a man of the cloister or of the cathedral close, who, having been seized with the patriotic fever, rushed out of his retirement, shook his fist in the face of the Czar, and, alarmed at the sensation caused by his unexpected militancy, 'turned him to his thought again' somewhat shamefacedly.

The spirit of Imperialism was in Tennyson, however, as it was in Carlyle, and perhaps as, notwithstanding his romantic and dandiacal Jacobinism, it was in Byron. We identify the spirit now-a-days with the muse of Mr. Rudyard Kipling, mainly because he sings the praises—and lays bare the weaknesses—of that ‘Absent-Minded Beggar’ who corresponds to the legionary of Rome, and whose mission, like his prototype’s, is to defend that ‘extended frontier,’ which, according to Mr. Goldwin Smith, is the characteristic of an empire of the modern type. How familiar he is now—

‘ We aren’t no thin red ’eroes, nor we aren’t no blackguards too,
But single men in barricks, most remarkable like you ;
An’ if sometimes our conduct isn’t all your fancy paints,
Why, single men in barricks don’t grow into plaster saints ;
While it’s Tommy this, an’ Tommy that, an’ Tommy “ fall
be’ind,”
But it’s “ Please to walk in front, sir,” when there’s trouble in
the wind ;
There’s trouble in the wind, my boys, there’s trouble in the
wind,
O, it’s “ Please to walk in front, sir,” when there’s trouble in the
wind.’

‘ You talk o’ better food for us, an’ schools, an’ fires, an’ all ;
We’ll wait for extry rations if you treat us rational ;
Don’t mess about the cook-room slops, but prove it to our face,
The Widow’s Uniform is not the soldier-man’s disgrace.
For it’s Tommy this, an’ Tommy that, an’ ‘ Chuck him out, the
brute ! ’
But it’s ‘ Saviour of ’is country’ when the guns begin to shoot ;
An’ it’s Tommy this, an’ Tommy that, an’ anything you
please ;
An’ Tommy ain’t a bloomin’ fool—you bet that Tommy sees ! ’

Or—

‘ What was the end of all the show,
Johnnie, Johnnie ?
Ask my colonel, for I don’t know,
Johnnie, my Johnnie, aha !
We broke a King, and we built a road—
A court-house stands where the reg’ment good,
And the river’s clean where the raw blood flowed
When the Widow gave the party.’

But even Mr. Kipling was anticipated, not perhaps by Campbell, in whose best battle-pieces Great Britain figures not so much as what the late Mr. J. R. Green termed an 'earth-power,' as 'the tight little island,' fighting gallantly against overwhelming odds for its own life and for the liberty of the world, but by Dibdin. Dibdin, as emphatically the singer of the sailor, of the humble but capable master of that element which, in Byron's phrase, 'washed us power,' had glimpses of Empire. Here, at all events, is Tommy Atkins soberly photographed, yet distinctly alive, both in his personal weakness and in his representative strength.

'This, this my lad's a soldier's life,
He marches to the sprightly fife,
And in each town to some new wife,
Swears he'll be ever true ;
He's here, he's there—where is he not ?
Variety's his envied lot,
He eats, drinks, sleeps, and pays no shot,
And follows the loud tattoo.'

And yet—

'Called out to face his country's foes,
The tears of fond domestic woes
He kisses off and boldly goes
To earn of fame his due ;
Religion, liberty, and laws,
Both are his and his country's cause,
For these through danger without pause,
He follows the loud tattoo.'

Substitute 'the flag' or 'the Widow of Windsor' for 'religion, liberty, and laws,' and we have the special sentiment or revived feudalism which animates the modern 'Empire builder.'

What the more recent and popular exponents of Imperialism have done is, without going any further, to supply a special reason for the faith that is in them, to sing the praises of a 'Their's not to reason why, their's but to do or die,' devotion to it. The two writers of to-day who have done most to foster the spirit which is being exhibited on an Imperial scale in South Africa are Mr. W. E. Henley, mainly in virile prose, and Mr. Rudyard Kipling, both in 'graphic' prose and in resonant verse. Mr.

Henley is the candid prophet of latter-day Byronism. He maintains that the singer of 'Lara' is the greatest master in English poetry since Shakespeare. He is a believer in and preacher of the vigour of the senses; he advocates action and annexation as a cure alike for Arnoldian megrims and for flabby politics. In a passage written whilst Lord Kitchener was still engaged in the task which was triumphantly concluded at Omdurman he lays down his views:—

'We have renewed our old pride in the Flag, our old delight in the thought of a good thing done by a good man of his hands, our old faith in the ambitions and traditions of the race. I doubt for instance, if outside politics (and perhaps the Stock Exchange), there be a single Englishman who does not rejoice in the triumph of Mr. Rhodes; even, as I believe, there is none inside or out of politics, who does not feel the prouder for his kinship with Sir Herbert Kitchener. And the reason is on the surface. To the national conscience, drugged so long and so long bewildered and bemused, such men as Rhodes and Kitchener are heroic Englishmen. The one has added some hundreds of thousands of square miles to the Empire, and is neck-deep in the work of consolidating what he has got and of taking more. The other is wiping out the great dishonour that overtook us at Khartoum at the same time that he is "reaching down from the North" to Buluwayo, and preparing the way of them that will change a place of skulls into a province of peace. Both are great, and that is much. But both are, after all, but types; and that is more. We know now, Mr. Kipling aiding, that all the world over are thousands of the like temper, the like capacity for government, the like impatience of anarchy; and that all the world over, these—each one according to his vision and his strength—are doing Imperial work at Imperial wages—the chance of a nameless death, the possibility of distinction, the certainty that the effect is worth achieving and will surely be achieved.'

Here we have Byronism, but in phrases like 'capacity for Government' and 'impatience of anarchy' we have Carlylism also. Mr. Kipling's chief strength lies in his always intense, frequently grotesque, and occasionally repellent realism. Perhaps we have here the true Kipling—

'You couldn't pack a Broadwood half-a-mile—
You mustn't leave a fiddle in the damp—
You couldn't raft an organ up the Nile,
And play it in an Equatorial swamp.
I travel with the cooking-pots and pails—
I'm sandwiched 'tween the coffee and the pork—

And when the dusty column checks and tails,
You should hear me spur the rearguard to a walk !

' With my " Pilly-willy-winky-winky pop ! "
 (Oh, it's any tune that comes into my head !)
 So I keep 'em moving forward till they drop ;
 So I play 'em up to water and to bed.
 In the silence of the camp before the fight,
 When it's good to make your will and say your prayer,
 You can hear my strumpty-tumpty overnight
 Explaining ten to one was always fair.
 I'm the Prophet of the Utterly Absurd
 Of the Patently Impossible and Vain—
 And when the Thing that couldn't has occurred,
 Give me time to change my leg and go again.

' With my " Tumpa-tumpa-tumpa-tum-pa-tump ! "
 In the desert where the dung-fed camp-smoke curled
 There was never voice before us till I led our lonely chorus
 I, the war-drum of the White Man round the world ! '

Or if truth in realism means the same thing as unpleasantness,
 a still truer Kipling is to be found in 'The Sergeant's
 Weddin'—

' See the chaplain thinkin' ?
 See the women smile ?
 Twig the married winkin'
 As they take the aisle ?
 Keep your side-arms quiet,
 Dressin' by the Band.
 Ho ! you 'oly beggars,
 Cough be'ind your 'and !

' Now it's done an' over,
 'Ear the organ squeak,
 " Voice that breathed o'er Eden "—
 Ain't she got the cheek !
 White and laylock ribbons,
 Think yourself so fine,
 I'd pray Gawd to take yer
 'Fore I made yer mine !

' Escort to the kerridge,
 Wish him luck, the brute !
 Chuck the slippers after—
 (Pity 'taint a boot !

Bowin' like a lady,
Blushin' like a lad—
'Oo would say to see 'em,
Both is rotten bad !'

And yet, thanks perhaps to the strain of Wesleyanism in his blood which makes him the General Booth of Atkinsesque Imperialism, Mr. Kipling is a Carlylian in his love of a strong man wherever he finds him.

'They have looked each other between the eyes, and there they found no fault,
They have taken the oath of the Brother-in-Blood on leavened bread and salt.
They have taken the oath of the Brother-in-Blood on fire and fresh-cut sod,
On the hilt and the haft of the Kyber Knife, and the Wondrous Names of God.
The Colonel's son he rides the mare, and Kemal's boy the dun,
And two have come back to Fort Bukloh where there went forth but one.
And when they drew to the quarter-guard, full twenty swords flew clear—
There was not a man but carried his feud with the blood of the mountaineer.
"Ha' done ! ha' done !" said the Colonel's son. "Put up the steel at your sides !
Last night ye had struck at a Border thief—to-night 'tis a man of the Guides !"
Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet,
Till Earth and Sky stand presently at God's great Judgment Seat ;
But there is neither East nor West, Border, nor Breed, nor Birth,
When two strong men stand face to face, tho' they come from the ends of the earth !'

There may be more of Wesleyanism than of Carlylism—a Wesleyanism which is none the less genuine that, like John Wesley's own, it is flavoured with mysticism—in those of Mr. Kipling's poems in which he seeks to 'improve' Imperialism, as in his famous 'Recessional,' with its—

'Lord God of Hosts—be with us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget.'

But he is back to Carlylism—the Carlylism of the *Latter Day Pamphlets*, and the cry to arms against anarchy in—

‘Take up the White Man’s Burthen—
Send for the best ye breed—
Go bind your sons to exile,
To serve your captives’ needs ;
To wait in heavy harness,
On fluttered folk and wild—
Your new-caught sullen peoples,
Half devil and half child.

‘Take up the White Man’s Burthen—
No iron rule of kings,
But toil of serf and sweeper—
The toll of common things.
The ports ye shall not enter,
The roads ye shall not tread ;
Go, make them with your living,
And mark them with your dead.’

This may not be the last or the best word of modern Imperialism. It may be expecting too much of human nature, it might even be prejudicial to the best interests of the United Kingdom, as the centre and citadel of the Empire, to ‘bind our sons to exile’ in Africa or in India. It is highly probable, to say the least, that the energies of ‘the best we breed’ will be fully taxed with the domestic problems which will demand consideration when the present crisis has terminated. That, however, cannot be discussed here and now. Enough has been said to show that Kiplingism—more especially in its serious and religious aspects—is, like Imperialism itself, a natural stage in the evolution of the unprecedently protracted and marvellously diversified Victorian period.

ART V.—SIR WILLIAM HENRY FLOWER,
K.C.B., ETC.

IN Sir William Flower, who was born on 30th November, 1831, and died on the 1st July, 1899, we have an example of what has so often been alluded to, viz., the combination of the skilful surgeon and the observant naturalist. It was his fondness for zoology which prompted the study of medicine, indeed, this was the only career then, and for many years thereafter, open to young naturalists devoid of private fortunes. Shortly after qualification, and in a time of emergency, he volunteered for service with the army in the Crimea, and remained on medical duty till the close of the war. Returning to London, he was, after holding some minor appointments, elected Conservator of the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, a post that he held for more than twenty years. While in this office the majority of his contributions to science were published, many of them being of a most elaborate nature, so that he won for himself a distinguished position in zoology and comparative anatomy. Besides, he revolutionised the great Museum founded on the collections of John Hunter, the famous surgeon-naturalist, and in which Sir Richard Owen had previously made a great reputation. Especially was the change noteworthy in the remarkable collection of the skeletons of whales and of mammals generally; indeed, the materials for his well-known volume on *Comparative Osteology*, form a conspicuous and valuable series in the galleries. Foremost among these were his beautifully finished and mounted preparations of the modifications of the extremities of the vertebral column and other parts in the group. Residing in the house adjoining the Museum, he devoted the whole day to its interests, and during his tenure of office a continual series of improvements and additions took place. Moreover, he had the advantage of very able sub-curators, whose help he ever generously acknowledged. Thus, during the earlier part of his tenure of office, and while he himself was engrossed with the

bony framework of animals, he was fortunate in having a finished manipulator and ingenious dissector—whose beautiful preparations of the muscular system, of the vascular system, of the fibres of the stomach, heart, and other viscera, remain to this day a monument to his skilful and persevering labours—carried on even to the loss of health. These preparations, and those of the fibres and nerves of the heart in the University of Edinburgh, are justly a source of pride to both Institutions, and their author's communications on them in the *Philosophical Transactions* are no less valued. This finished dissector and complimentary young colleague of Sir William's was Dr., now Professor Pettigrew. Amidst such congenial surroundings, and encouraged by the sympathy of the authorities of the College of Surgeons, Flower laboured unceasingly, and no position—not even the directorship of the British Museum—could have been more favourable for original scientific work, for he was not too much handicapped by administrative cares. In this post he elaborated all his careful studies of the whales and other mammals—from the monotremes to man—and gave regular courses of scientific lectures as Hunterian Professor of Comparative Anatomy, besides numerous lectures elsewhere—many of a more or less popular description. Moreover, he spread the fame of the Museum all over the world.

His appointment to the Directorship of the British Museum (Natural History) was equally creditable to his great intellectual powers and his administrative ability, and for fourteen years he laboured no less energetically in this great collection—the finest in existence. Besides the entire re-arrangement of great groups, such as the Mammals, Birds and their nests, and Corals, the Entrance-Hall was transformed. Instead of the somewhat solitary skeleton of the huge sperm whale, ten large cases gave expression to the modern developments in zoology, such as *External Variations in Animals*, as exhibited in the Canaries, Ruffs or Reeves, Mallards or Wild Ducks, Domestic Pigeons, and other forms, as well as adaptations of colour to surroundings—in winter and in summer, or on ground of peculiar tint (*e.g.*, the brown of the Egyptian desert). Other cases contained groups of intermediate forms, or those showing Melanism or

Albinism. The bays or recesses of this Hall were filled with exquisite dissections and skeletons of the main types of animals, with special organs in great detail, besides illustrations of protective resemblances and mimicry. Moreover, he introduced explanatory labels throughout the Museum, and a highly artistic method of arrangement and mounting. The changes in the Entrance Hall alone would have made his period of office memorable.

His work at the two great Museums did not comprise all his engagements. As President of the Zoological Society of London, he not only contributed many valuable articles to its Proceedings and Transactions, but by his dignity and suavity in the chair, and the encouragement and aid which he invariably gave to young members of the Society and others who communicated papers, he extended its popularity and the solidity of its scientific work in a remarkable degree. In the same way his numerous and important contributions to Anthropology gained him the Presidency of the Anthropological Institute.

His well-directed labours produced a long list of valuable papers in the groups already mentioned, and varying, indeed, from Monotremes to Man, besides eight works, viz.:—*Diagrams of the Nerves of the Human Body*, *Introductory Lectures to the Course of Comparative Anatomy at the Royal College of Surgeons*, *Recent Memoirs on the Cetacea*, *Osteology of Mammalia, I., Man*, *Osteology of the Mammalia, Fashion in Deformity*, *The Horse: a Study in Natural History*, *Text-Book of the Mammalia* (with R. Lydekker), and his last volume—*Essays on Museums, etc.* In all these works his remarkably accurate and careful methods are conspicuous. No trouble was too great in dealing with the subject in hand. Thus, when working up the Cetacea every Continental Museum containing specimens of note was visited—some of them more than once.

Amongst his earlier contributions, after entering on duty at the College of Surgeons, was that on the brain of the higher apes. This formed important evidence in the discussions which took place between Owen and Huxley in regard to the posterior lobe of the brain, the posterior cornu, and the hippocampus minor. Sir R. Owen, at the Cambridge Meeting of the British

Association in 1862, maintained from casts of the human brain in spirit, and from a cast of the interior of the gorilla's skull, that in man the posterior lobes of the brain overlapped the cerebellum, whereas in the gorilla they did not; that these characters are constant, and therefore he had decided to place man, with his overlapping posterior lobes, the existence of a posterior horn in the lateral ventricle, and the presence of a hippocampus minor in the posterior horn, under the special division *Archencephala*. Moreover, he grouped with these features the distinctive character of the foot of man, and showed how it differed from that of all monkeys. Flower's accurate investigations enabled Huxley to substantiate his antagonistic position to Owen's doctrines—viz., that these structures, instead of being the attributes of man, are precisely the most marked cerebral characters common to man with the apes. Huxley also asserted that the differences between the foot of man and that of the higher apes were of the same order, and but slightly different in degree from those which separated one ape from another.

In the preparation of the Catalogue of the College of Surgeons on Man, great labour was involved, and it proved a thorough training to its author in Anthropology, a subject which to the end of his career he devotedly upheld. His numerous contributions covered a wide area, and some are especially valuable as dealing with extinct races.

Another of his early and important papers related to the development and succession of teeth in the pouched animals or marsupials,* and in it he made known the discovery that in this group of mammals a peculiar condition of dental succession is present and more or less uniform, so far as known, throughout the order. Whilst the teeth are divisible, according to their position and form, into incisors (cutting teeth), canines, premolars, and molars, as in mammals generally, there is apparently vertical displacement and succession only in the case of a single tooth on either side of each jaw, that tooth being the last of the premolar series. This tooth is preceded by one having as a rule the characters of a true molar, and which is the only one com-

* *Philos. Trans.*, vol. 157, p. 631. Ph. 29 and 30. 1868.

parable to the 'milk teeth' of the ordinary diphyodont mammal (Eutheria). Previously, the chief authorities, such as Sir Richard Owen, had interpreted the condition of things very differently, though the latter is careful to point out—firstly, that those posterior teeth of each side of each jaw which have no deciduous predecessors are, as a general rule, four in number instead of three, as in most placental mammals. Secondly, that 'an interesting field of observation still remains open in regard to the period and order of development of the deciduous and permanent teeth in the different carnivorous, omnivorous, insectivorous, and frugivorous marsupials.' Owen, however, had supposed that in the great Kangaroo, the front teeth (incisors), the canines, and two other teeth (molars) were deciduous, that is, were shed; moreover, that the former, that is, the front teeth, were shed before the young animal quits the pouch of its mother. Taking, as he fully acknowledges, the hint from his distinguished predecessor in the Hunterian Chair of Comparative Anatomy, Flower, in his usual accurate and methodical manner, and with a more complete series of young marsupials from the pouches, demonstrated that there were considerable differences in the various genera as to the relative period of the animal's life at which the fall of the temporary molar and the evolution of its successor takes place. In some, as in the Rat-Kangaroos, it is one of the latest, the temporary tooth retaining its place and its functions until the animal has nearly, if not quite, reached its full growth, and is not shed until all the other teeth are in position and use. On the other hand, in the Tasmanian wolf, the temporary tooth is very rudimentary in size and form, and is shed or absorbed before any other tooth cuts the gum. Anterior to the period of Sir William Flower's communication, mammals had been, in regard to the succession of their teeth, divided into two groups—the *Monophyodonts*, or those that generate a single set of teeth, and the *Diphyodonts*, or those that develop two sets of teeth; but, as he pointed out, even in the most typical Diphyodonts the successional process does not extend to the whole of the teeth, always stopping short of those situated most posteriorly in each series. The pouched animals (marsupials), he stated, occupied an intermediate position, presenting, as it were,

a rudimentary diphyodont condition, the successional process being confined to a single tooth on each side of each jaw. He cites the dugong and the existing elephants as somewhat analogous, in so far as the successional process is limited to the incisor teeth, and doubts whether the first premolar of many of those animals which have four teeth of this group, as the dog and hog (mandible), ever has a deciduous predecessor, or at all events a calcified one. The closest analogy is found amongst the rodents, in which the incisors appear to have no deciduous predecessors; and in the beaver, porcupine, and others, which have but four teeth of the molar series—*i.e.*, three molars and one premolar; the latter is the only tooth which succeeds a deciduous one. The analogy, however, does not hold in those, such as the hare and the rabbit, with more than one premolar, each having its deciduous predecessor. He ably shows, further, that the true molars in the marsupials are homologous with the true molars of diphyodonts, which belong to the permanent series, though they never have deciduous predecessors. Consequently, the anterior teeth (incisors, canines, premolars) are homologous with the permanent teeth. It may be objected, Flower observes, to this argument that the true molars of the diphyodonts, not being successional teeth, ought to be regarded as members of the first or milk teeth; but, in truth, the fact that they themselves have no predecessors does not make them serially homologous with the predecessors of the other teeth, while their morphological characters, as well as their habitual persistence throughout life, range them with the second or permanent series. It has been so long customary to regard the second set of teeth as an after-development or derivative of the first, that it may appear paradoxical to suggest that the milk teeth may rather be a set superadded to meet the temporary needs of mammals of more complex dental organization. But it should be remembered that, instead of there being any such relation between the permanent and milk teeth as expressed by the terms 'progeny' and 'parent,' they are formed side by side from independent portions of the primitive dental groove, and may rather be compared to twin-brothers, one of which, destined for early functional activity, proceeds rapidly in its development, while the

other makes little progress until the time approaches when it is called upon to take the place of its more precocious *locum tenens*. The milk teeth appear to be the less constant and important, and frequently are rudimentary and functionless. Thus the milk-premolars of the guinea-pig are shed before birth, and the simple structure and evanescent nature of the milk teeth of bats, insectivores, and seals, the diminutive first incisors of the dugong and elephant, are other cases in point. It is interesting that the most recent researches substantiate the view taken by Flower—viz., that the incisors and other teeth in front correspond with the permanent set, for rudiments of what are now regarded as milk teeth are found in the young marsupial.

In few of his communications were those qualities of patient inquiry and cautious deduction more conspicuously demonstrated than in his masterly handling of the skull of an extinct Australian marsupial (*Thylacoleo*),* about the size of a sheep, first described by his distinguished predecessor in the Hunterian Chair of Comparative Anatomy in the College of Surgeons, and in the Directorship of the British Museum. A mutilated skull of this animal had been discovered in a stratum of calcareous conglomerate eighty miles south-west of Melbourne, Victoria. Sir Richard Owen† had determined its marsupial character, and had named it the marsupial or pouched lion, as its title indicates, further concluding that its nearest affinities amongst existing marsupials was the *Ursine Dasyure* (Tasmanian devil), although there was a great interval between them. Moreover, from the size and form of the carnassial teeth, especially the upper one, he thought it was one of the fellest and most destructive of predatory beasts. In a subsequent note Owen somewhat modified his views as to the affinities of the animal, though not as to the diet and habits. He now placed it in relationship with the Koalas, Phalangiers, and Kangaroos, yet he asserted that it possessed the simplest and most effective dental machinery for predatory life and carnivorous diet known in the mammalian class.

* *Geol. Jour.*, 24 ; p. 307 ; Woodcuts, 1868.

† *Philos. Trans.*, 1859 ; p. 359.

Fresh from his labours amidst the fine collections in the Museum of the College of Surgeons, and his special inquiry into the dental characters of the marsupials, Sir William Flower first carefully compared this remarkable skull with that of existing forms, showing that the single huge compressed trenchant premolar tooth furnished the key to the question at issue. He pointed out that its resemblance to the carnassial tooth of carnivores is merely superficial, and instead of the anterior root (for it has two) being the larger, as in the carnivores, it is the smaller. In short, there is no tooth in any of the carnivorous marsupials that can be compared with it. Its homologue has to be looked for in the Rat-Kangaroos, in which the great cutting premolar presents a miniature of that of *Thylacoleo*. The whole form of the tooth, the absence of accessory cusps or tubercles, and the relative proportions of the anterior and posterior fangs precisely correspond. Further, the number and arrangement of the incisor teeth, agree with the modern families of the Kangaroo and Phalangers, and differ wholly from those in the carnivorous marsupials. He pointed out, again, that one of the most remarkable features is the reduction in number and size of the premolars, of which but one is present in the upper and two in the lower jaw, and this reduction is in relation with the excessive development of the great trenchant premolar.

In the structure of such portions of the cranium and mandible as are available there is confirmation of Sir William Flower's views. Thus while the brain-case is relatively smaller than in the Kangaroos, it is of similar size in the Phalangers. It differs, however in the conspicuous development of the post-orbital process, yet in some Rat-Kangaroos such is present. In the sharply defined anterior boundary of the fossa for the temporal muscle—in the mandible—it resembles the Kangaroos more than the Dasyures.

Of its supposed predatory habits, Sir William observes that it is well to glance in the first instance at the general question—as to whether the characters of an animal's teeth guide us to a knowledge of its food and habits. Broadly speaking certain kinds of dentition are associated with the function of seizing and

masticating certain kinds of food, yet there are so many instances of allied animals having different dietetic habits without a corresponding modification of dental structure (*e.g.* the bears) that caution is necessary. However, if all the members of a large group with teeth formed on one peculiar type lead lives inoffensive to their neighbours and feed on vegetable substance, the probabilities—in the case of any newly discovered species with the same type of teeth—are in favour of its having possessed similar habits. Now, all the Kangaroos and Phalangers feed in the main on grass, roots, fruits, buds, or leaves, and not one is exclusively carnivorous or destroys animals approaching to itself in size. The presumption is, therefore, that *Thylacoleo* is a vegetable feeder—a different conclusion from that of Sir Richard Owen, as already indicated. Briefly, he thought that the foremost teeth seized, pierced, lacerated, or killed, while the carnassials divided the nutritive fibres of the prey. Sir William Flower, on the other hand, observes that the occurrence of similar teeth in the Rat-Kangaroos has not been demonstrated to involve blood-thirsty inclinations. Moreover, every known true predaceous carnivore has powerful, pointed, canine teeth in both jaws, combined with comparatively small incisors. *Thylacoles* presents no approximation to the latter; its lower canines are absent, its upper rudimentary, while its central incisors are in both jaws large. Nor will the fact that there is one group of flesh-eating animals (Insectivores, viz., Shrews and Moles), in which the type characteristic of true carnivores is departed from, alter the case. Their mode of snapping up small animals is wholly different from that of a cat or a ferret. In the same way, animals belonging to groups, usually Phytophagons, and with typical teeth, may, on occasion, be more or less carnivorous, as the rat. But how different is the ferocity and destructive power compared with the ferret!

The large trenchant premolars of *Thylacoleo* were probably well adapted for chopping up succulent roots, but the actual material on which it fed may have disappeared with the animal itself.

Sir William Flower also extended our knowledge of the development and succession of teeth in the Edentates by a careful

examination of the young forms of the nine-banded armadillo (*Tatusia peba*).^{*} Previous to his observations it was generally supposed that these animals were monophyodont, or had a single set of teeth, the only author who had stated otherwise being Prof. Gervais of Paris. Flower found that the milk-teeth of the species above mentioned were five or seven in number according to the size and stage of development of the young Armadillo (the number of teeth in the adult being but one more, viz.; eight), and that calcification occurred as usual, the germs of the permanent teeth appearing beneath them, the temporary teeth having one important difference from the permanent, viz., the closure of the base of the fang, causing arrest of growth. In a subsequent paper† he dealt with the classification of this group, showing that the scaly ant-eater (*Manis*), if allied to *Myrmecophaga*, must have separated from the original common-stock before this had given off the Sloths, or, in other words, that the Sloths and Ant-eaters, with the Megatheroids intervening, are far more nearly allied to each other than either is to the Pangolins. The family of the Armadillos, again, are remarkably specialized, yet they have undoubtedly near affinities to the American Edentates, though not so nearly related to either of the other families as to each other. The Glyptodonts form an allied group, agreeing in most essential features, but also presenting some very singular special modifications. The Aard-Vark or ground-hog (*Orycteropus*) of South Africa, lastly, stands apart from all the others, both structurally and in the presence of milk-teeth, the normal condition of its vertebral column, and in other particulars. Indeed, it and the two old-world Pangolins are so essentially distinct from all the American families, that it may be considered doubtful whether they are derived from the same primary branch of mammals. Thus, Sir William agreed with Alphonse Milne Edwards that the Edentates should be separated into several distinct natural groups.

Another series of observations‡ which had an important bearing on the classification of a group of mammals was that

^{*} *Proceedings of Zoological Society*, 1868, p. 378.

[†] *Ibid.*, 1882, p. 358.

[‡] *Ibid.*, 1869, p. 4.

which he made on the Carnivores. These mammals had been ranged by Cuvier into two divisions, according to the position of the feet in walking—the Plantigrades, or those which place the entire sole of the foot on the ground, as the bears, and the Digitigrades, or those walking only on the toes. Sir William Flower, having been struck by the methods of a young, original, and accurate worker, Mr. H. N. Turner, who fell a victim to his zeal, as he died from a dissection-wound, took the posterior part of the base of the skull, and by an elaborate inquiry into the characters of the auditory-swelling (bulla), and the structures immediately surrounding it, showed that a satisfactory classification of the existing terrestrial or fissipedal carnivores could be established, though it has to be mentioned that the arrangement does not hold good when fossil forms are included. The fossil dogs and bears are so intimately connected that satisfactory separation is difficult.

Basing his arrangement mainly on the structural features just alluded to, Sir William made three great groups of the Carnivores, viz., (1) the Cat-like Carnivores (*Æluroides*) including the cats, civets, hyenas, etc.; (2) the Dog-like Carnivores, comprising the dogs, wolves, jackals, and foxes; and (3) the Bears.

The cat-like carnivores have the auditory swelling (bulla) large, rounded, smooth, and thin-walled, and, except in the hyenas, divided into two chambers by a partition.

The distinctions between the five families of the group is mainly founded on the teeth, and, besides, the cranial structure alone would distinguish them. Africa and Southern Asia are the head-quarters of the group, all the families being restricted absolutely or very nearly (two of the civet-family [*Viverridæ*] alone passing into Southern Europe) to these regions, except the cats, which are almost cosmopolitan.

The second group or section admits of no sub-division into families, one type (Family) alone being present, viz., the dogs. Though there is a considerable tendency to variation in external characters, they are remarkably true in cranial conformation. They hold an intermediate position between the foregoing section and the succeeding one, the author considering that they

retained many of the more generalised characters of the ancient representatives. They are, perhaps, the most universally diffused of any of the groups.

The auditory swelling is inflated and the partition rudimentary.

The third section (Arctoidea) comprises the bears, panda, raccoons, coatis, otters, skunks, badgers, weasels, and gluttons.

The auditory swelling is little inflated, and is devoid of a partition.

His accurate methods in dealing with the skulls of mammals are further shown in such papers as that 'On some Cranial and Dental Characters of the Existing Species of Rhinoceros.' In this he emphasises the well-known presence of fully developed and functional cutting teeth (incisors) in the Asiatic species, and their absence in the African. Of the Asiatic species he found three—viz., the one-horned, the Sondaic, and the Sumatran (*R. unicornis*, *R. sondaicus*, and *R. sumatrensis*). Of African forms two are readily differentiated—viz., *R. simus*, Burchell, and *R. bicornis* L.

While of his great labours amongst the whales or cetaceans it is impossible to give an adequate outline, reference may be made to his classic memoir on the sperm-whale,* which must long remain a model for its accuracy and completeness. The fine skeleton of a young male which he procured for the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons formed the basis of this important paper, and enabled him to add to and correct much that had been written on the subject. The description of its huge cranium as a large, pointed slipper, with a high heel-piece and the front trodden down, the hollow limited behind by the occipital crest, continued laterally into the elevated edges of the broadly expanded maxillæ, which rose from the median line towards the edge of the skull instead of falling away as in most cetaceans, must be familiar to all students of the group. In this vast cavity lies the head-matter, composed of almost pure spermaceti.

He conclusively demonstrates that instead of two species

* *Trans. Zool. Soc.*, vol. 6, 1863-68, p. 309, Ph. 55-61.

(*P. australis* and *P. macrocephalus*), there is but one of large size, though, since small adult jaws seven feet long occur, these may belong to another species, if not those of a female.

Such is a brief and fragmentary outline of some of the memoirs published by this able comparative anatomist. His long continued labours brought him honours from every country in which science was appreciated.

In private life he was no less esteemed than in his public duties. In every relation he bore himself with good taste and dignity, and he passed away honoured and esteemed by all for his high bearing, his prudence, and his great talents.

WILLIAM C. M'INTOSH.

ART. VI.—JULIAN AND JERUSALEM, A.D. 363.

THAT the re-building of the Temple at Jerusalem, which was begun by the Emperor Julian in A.D. 363, was stopped by an outburst of fire from the foundations, Gibbon, on the authority of the contemporary and most trustworthy Latin historian, Ammianus Marcellinus, was not inclined to deny. The cause of the outburst Gibbon did not attempt to explain.* When in Jerusalem in 1800, Dr. Clarke, the traveller,† identified certain reticulated, and therefore Roman, masonry at the sides of the area of the Mosque of Omar, with the foundations of the Julian Temple, progress in which was abandoned on account of the bursting forth of flames. Clarke leaves it for others to decide whether the balls of fire that burst from the ground were natural or supernatural. Dean Milman ‡ accepts the facts of an outburst of fire from the hill: of the flight of the workmen: and of the stoppage of the work. He explains the outburst of fire by vapours fermenting in the caves of the hill. To Milman's explanation the objec-

* *Decline and Fall*, chap. xxiii.

† *Travels*, Vol. IV., p. 387.

‡ *History of the Jews*, Vol. II. pp. 18-21.

tion seems fatal : (1) that on no other occasion are cave-vapours known to have fermented and burst forth in fire at Jerusalem, and (2) that on this occasion the outbreak was too timely to be accidental.

With this outburst of flames on the site of the Temple at Jerusalem in A.D. 363, may be compared the outburst of flames in B.C. 288 which drove Brennus the Gaul empty-handed from Delphi. The outburst of flame at Delphi, which was accompanied by an explosion and fall of rock, Bishop Warburton * explains by the priests collecting vapours in one of the caves and setting them alight. Were there, in A.D. 363, in Jerusalem any means similar to those employed by the priests of Delphi, to frustrate Julian's attempt to rebuild the Temple? That the Christians had no such means, or if they had the means that they had not the opportunity of using them, may be admitted. It is less clear that in A.D. 363 the Jewish priests had not under their control an appliance more trustworthy than chance cave vapours to produce explosions and flames.

The writer of the second book of the Maccabees (chapter i., verses 19-26), perhaps about B.C. 100, tells how, in B.C. 440, when the repairs to the city walls had been completed, Nehemiah determined to hold a formal purification and rededication of the altar and temple, which had been completed by Zerubbabel about eighty years before (B.C. 520). Nehemiah ordered the descendants of the priests to produce the sacred fire, which, before the Babylonian Captivity (B.C. 588), had been taken from the altar and hid privily in the hollow of a waterless well or pit, and therein made sure so that the place was unknown to all men. Under Nehemiah's orders the priests examined the pit. They found thick water. Nehemiah said, 'Draw the water and sprinkle the sacrifices.' The sun shone on the sprinkled sacrifices and a great fire was kindled. When the Persian king heard that certain temple water had turned into flame he considered it sacred. When he wished to shew favour to any one he gave him some of the

* *Julian*, pp. 296-297.

water. Nehemiah called the water Nepthar, that is, cleansing; most men called it Nephthal, that is, Naphtha.*

Neither the date nor the author of the second Maccabees is certain. Still it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion † that the tradition is correct that Nehemiah brought naphtha out of a pit near the temple; that this naphtha was known to the priests as sacred fire; and that from an indefinite time naphtha had been burned on the temple altar as sacred fire. It is, therefore, probable that down to the time of Julian's disaster (A.D. 363) a store of naphtha remained in a pit close to the temple, and that at that time the existence of the store was known to the descendants of the priests. How far had any of the priests the desire to put a stop to Julian's operations by a timely explosion?

In support of the view that the outburst of fire which put a stop to Julian's undertaking was the intentional explosion by certain Jews of naphtha vapour in a cave or pit under the temple, it is necessary to shew:—

1. That certain of the Jews were anxious to stop Julian's work.
2. That in the neighbourhood of the Temple were caves, pits, or wells in which an explosion might be arranged.
3. That a secret store of naphtha, sufficient to cause a serious explosion, was in the charge of certain of the Jews.

Those who do not regard the outrush of fire on Julian's workmen as a miracle have contended that the outbreak was either natural, or was the work of the Christians. In his account of the explosion Warburton seems to have disposed of both of these explanations. Against the explanation that the explosion was natural Warburton contends that with so few recorded outbursts at Jerusalem, and with the freedom from outburst which marked the building of Solomon's (B.C. 1000), Zerubbabel's (B.C. 520), and Herod's (B.C. 7) temples, the

* Compare Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. II. p. 176.

† *Ibid.*, Vol. V., pp. 465, 487.

chance that a natural explosion should happen immediately on the beginning of Julian's work is a no-chance.* Its timeliness seems conclusive against Dean Milman's view that the explosion was natural. Warburton's reply to those who would trace the explosion to the Christians seems equally complete. In the excited state both of Jewish and of Greek feeling against them, the Christians, during the progress of Julian's work, would not have been allowed access to the temple foundations.†

The third alternative, namely, that the explosion was the work of a Jew, seems hardly to have been considered. The reason why this explanation has not been suggested is probably that the work of repairing the temple was popular with the Jews,‡ who were helping with labour as well as with money and materials. According to the Christians the Jews were as much elated with Julian's favour as if they had found a prophet of their own.§ In this propitious moment, says Gibbon,|| the men forgot their avarice, and the women their delicacy: spades and pickaxes of silver were provided by the vanity of the rich, and the rubbish was transported in mantles of silk and purple. Every purse was open in liberal contributions, every hand claimed a share in the pious labour, and the commands of a great monarch were executed by the enthusiasm of a whole people.'

In spite of the enthusiasm of the mass of the Jews, to the stricter prophets and priests Julian's attempt could not fail to be hateful. The elaborate purification and rededication by Nehemiah (B.C. 440), described in Second Maccabees, marked the change from a royal chapel to a priestly temple. Zerubbabel (B.C. 520), a descendant of David, was the last person not a High Priest who shared the management of the temple.¶ How jealously the priests guarded their control over the temple was shewn in the time of Herod the Great (B.C. 16-7), when, though a Jew by religion, Herod had to

* Warburton's *Julian*, p. 305. † *Ibid.*, p. 260. ‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 91.

§ *Ibid.*, pp. 68, note, and 70. || *Decline and Fall*, chap. xxiii.

¶ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, article 'Temple.'

leave the building of the Temple to the High Priest, and content himself with building its Courts.* Similarly when, in A.D. 117, the Emperor Hadrian offered to rebuild the temple, his offer was refused by the priests.† Later in Hadrian's reign (A.D. 133), the Jews revolted, and tried to rebuild the Temple. For this revolt they were punished by being forbidden to approach the Holy City. Once more, under Constantine (A.D. 334), the Jews attempted to revolt; this attempt was crushed, and Hadrian's law against Jews coming to Jerusalem was strictly enforced. The zealous Jews were not less anxious than the mass of the people that the temple should be rebuilt. But they were jealous that the honour of re-building the temple should belong solely to the Jews. To the stricter Jews, Julian, not less of a warrior and much less of a Jew than Herod, could not be acceptable. Their objection to him would be increased by Julian, in his recent letter to the Community of the Jews, assuming to decide that the time for re-building the temple laid down in the Hebrew Scriptures had arrived.‡ That the leaders of the Jews opposed Julian's project is stated by the Christian writers, who, to their astonishment, found that the Jew leaders explained the miraculous outburst of fire, not as a proof that Christ was a true Prophet and God, but as a proof of the wrath of Jehovah against the profanity of accepting the help of one who was no Jew in re-building Jehovah's House. It follows that the zealous Jews approved the outburst of fire. These Jews would have ready access to the neighbourhood of the works: some of them, like Nehemiah, would be acquainted with the store of naphtha or sacred fire, which, in the ruin of the Temple (A.D. 70), had remained unused for nearly three hundred years, but still fresh in its rock-hewn pit. Under these conditions they would be

* Williams, *The Holy City*, Vol. I., pp. 109, 119. Warren, *Underground Jerusalem*, p. 62. So unbending were the priests that, according to Captain, now General Sir Charles Warren (*Underground Jerusalem*, p. 73), Herod was not allowed to enter the Temple or any of the Courts.

† Kuenen's *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 333.

‡ Warburton's *Julian*, pp. 133, 225.

ready to kindle its vapour and cause an explosion which all, Greeks, Christians, and Jews alike, would accept as a miracle.

Did Alypius, Julian's Master of the Works, suspect that certain of the zealous or leading Jews had caused the explosion? Was it this suspicion that led Julian to abandon the undertaking? It is to be noted that Ammianus' account of the explosion, 'terrible balls of fire bursting from the ground at the place where the people were at work and burning them,' describes what would be the effect of an explosion of naphtha vapour.* The absence of reference to the accompanying winds, earthquakes, and fiery crosses on which certain Christian writers lay stress is explained by Warburton, 'as the bashfulness of a backward witness.' But the character of Ammianus and his position as a friend of Julian, make it probable that his description of the outburst is taken from the report submitted on the occasion by Alypius to the Emperor. The details are in agreement with those given by St. Chrysostom, who wrote at the time—'They began the work, but made no progress, for a fire bursting from the foundations drove away and dispersed all concerned in the undertaking.'† Both Ammianus and St. Chrysostom describe what might have been the effect of a planned explosion.‡ That Julian did not imagine the outburst to be due to the Christians may be judged by his silence contrasted with the expression of his suspicion of Christian foul play in the recent burning of the temple of Apollo at Daphne. Did Julian suspect that the leaders of the Jews had a hand in the explosion? In his letter 'On the

* *Julian*, p. 113.

† Warburton's *Julian*, p. 122. The writer in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* limits his description to St. Chrysostom's details. He says: In the pagan reaction under Julian an attempt to rebuild the temple was frustrated by an outburst of fire from the foundations.

‡ That Ammianus considered the outburst planned may receive support from his applying to the fire the word *designatus*—that is, designedly. This, according to Warburton (*Julian*, p. 585), elegantly implies the direction of an intelligent agent. Still *designatus* means stubbornly as well as designedly, and this rendering ('obstinately and resolutely bent') has the support of Gibbon, Chapter xxiii.

Reformation of Classic Worship,' which was written after the outburst of fire at Jerusalem, Julian draws a line between the mass of the Jews, 'the Temple of whose great and mighty God I would have restored,' and their Prophets and Leaders, whom he describes as 'evil, shut-eyed, mist-enwrapped interpreters, who, mistaking the great Light of Heaven for an impure earthy fire, roar with frantic vehemence—' Fear and tremble ye inhabitants of the world, Fire, lightning, the sword, darts, death, and all the frightful words which express that one destructive property of Fire.* Then he adds, checking himself, 'but the subject is better suited for a private audience.† Warburton suggests that in making this attack Julian had in his mind not the Prophets or Leaders of the Jews, but the Christians. But, since the rejoicings of the Christians over the miraculous outbreak of fire at the Temple were public, and since they claimed the outburst as a miracle sent in their favour, it does not appear why Julian should have checked his attack on the Christians for worshipping the demon side of fire. On the other hand, if, as Julian states, it was the Jew leaders who had brought the demon form of fire to help them, his reason for silence is evident. After his advances to the Jewish community it was impolitic for Julian to admit that the leaders of that community were as hostile to him as were the Christians. This suspicion that the outburst was the work of the Jews, supported by the action of the Jew leaders in persuading the people that the miracle was a punishment to them for accepting non-Jew help, seems to explain why during the three or four months before he started on his Persian war, Julian made no attempt to repair the disaster.

The remarks of Julian in his letter on the Reformation of the Classic Religion suggest that he was specially grieved at the outburst of fire at the Temple in Jerusalem, and at the moral which the leaders of the Jews drew from the outburst. With his knowledge of the strong element of fire worship among the Jews, their pillar of fire, their burning bush, their

* Compare Warburton's *Julian*, pp. 72, 73.

† *Ibid.*, p. 81.

sacred temple fire, their fire-form angels and God,* Julian, himself a keen sun and fire worshipper, may have hoped to find in a common reverence for fire the basis of an agreement in worship between himself and the Jews corresponding to the common reverence for the sun which had proved so useful a bond between Constantine and the Christians. This hope faded when by the planning, or at least by the explanation, of the ruinous outburst at the Temple Julian was convinced that the Jew leaders worshipped the patriotic demon or destructive aspect of fire, and not the philosophic divine or cleansing view of fire, Plato's *phos katharon* (the pure light), Nehemiah's Nephthar, the cleanser.†

On the second point, namely, that there were caves or hollows close to the temple, where naphtha vapours might be collected or exploded, the evidence seems sufficient. How great was the provision of underground reservoirs and cisterns in Jerusalem, hewn chiefly by Solomon (B.C. 1000), Hezekiah (B.C. 725), and Simon the Just (B.C. 300), is shewn by the unfailing supply of water in the city even during its longest siege. Apparently the great cisterns, cut or enlarged by Simon the Just in B.C. 300, extended beneath almost the whole Haram area, so that they passed under the Temple, whether, as is probable, its site and the scene of Julian's operations was near the Aksa Mosque, at the south-west corner of the Haram enclosure, or what is less likely, at

* Exodus, xxiv. 17; Leviticus, vi. 13, ix. 24; Numbers, xi. 1-3; Deuteronomy, iv. 15, 24, 36. Compare Ezekiel (B.C. 594), chapter i.—Living creatures that came out of fire, and were like coals of fire; and (chapter v. 27, 28), The likeness of the glory of the Lord was the appearance of fire. Again, of the Lord God he says (chapter viii. 2)—Lo a likeness as the appearance of fire; from the appearance of his loins even downward, fire; from his loins even upward as the appearance of brightness as the colour of amber.

The importance which the Jews attached to the proper house-worship of Fire is shown by the rule that one of the three breaches of ceremonial duty for which alone a Jewish woman's life was forfeit was the failure to light the Friday evening lamp.—Schwab's *Talmud de Jerusalem*, vol. i., p. 351.

† Compare Warburton's *Julian*, p. 76, Note 1.

Omar's Mosque or the Dome of the Rock at the centre of the enclosure.* According to Tacitus at the time of Titus' siege (A.D. 70), the rock under the Temple was scooped into caverns.† According to the Mishna or Repetition of the Law (A.D. 219), the buildings of Jerusalem were founded on the rock with caves beneath them.‡

Williams notices§ that Julian's workmen are said to have cut into a pit or well. Among modern writers Lewin|| says the neighbourhood of the Temple is honeycombed into secret underground avenues.

The third point is how far is there support for the account in the Second Maccabees of the use, by the Jews, of a colourless water like *naphtha*. What the ancients understood by *naphtha* was the purest, that is, the least oxidised form of earth oil. Before it is thickened by exposure to the air, or stiffened by mixture with earth, *naphtha* is a clear, limpid, colourless

* Williams (*The Holy City*, II., 464), notices that Josephus makes no reference to Simon's excavations under the temple. He would explain Josephus' silence by the fact of their existence being a secret known to the officiating priests only. Fergusson's opinion (*Holy Sepulchre and Temple*, p. 103), that the site of the Temple is at the Aksa Mosque is supported by one of the latest authorities, the writer of the article on the Temple in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Vol. xiii., p. 642). Mr. Fergusson gives (woodcut No. 28), what he believes to be the remains of Julian's work in a doorway under the Aksa Mosque.

† Warren's *Underground Jerusalem*, p. 66. According to Josephus (Besant and Palmer's *History of Jerusalem*, p. 46), during the siege of Titus the leaders of the Jews hid in the underground chambers with which the city was honeycombed. Also (*ibid.* 58), during the revolt of Bar-Cocheba against Hadrian (A.D. 133) the Jews hid in the caves, underground passages, and secret corners with which the city was honeycombed. Felix Fabri, in the fourteenth century, speaks of large caverns hollowed in the rocks by which one might enter into the very midst of the city (Williams' *The Holy City*, I., Supplement, pp. 47-48). General Warren (1876, *Underground Jerusalem*, p. 50), speaks of the rock being honeycombed with caves dug in the soft limestone or malachite with so small an opening that only by an accident could the entrance be found.

‡ *Survey of Western Palestine, Jerusalem.*

§ *The Holy City*, II., p. 466.

|| *A Sketch of Jerusalem*, p. 231.

liquid.* How did the Jews come to use naphtha for making their holy fire? The knowledge may have been brought by Abraham† from the slime-pits of fire-worshipping Chaldea. After their settlement in Palestine the practice may have been continued by taking advantage of the supply of the finest naphtha provided by, or distilled, from the stores of the Dead Sea, the slime-pots of Sodom, and the limestone caves in the Jordan valley. After Jerusalem became the capital, even if, which seems possible, certain crevices in the limestone did not furnish local supplies, its rocks would make easy the construction of secret storage pits or wells.‡ The name Fire Valley, Wadi-en-Nár, part of the Kedron Valley close to the east of Jerusalem, though in modern times (late 16th century) explained by containing the well or pit from which Nehemiah

* Compare *Encyclopædia Britannica* (IX. Edition, Vol. II., p. 715.) On exposure to the air naphtha takes up oxygen, and becomes brown and thick, and is called petroleum. A continuation of the same process, evaporation and oxidation, transfuses petroleum into mineral tar, and mineral tar into solid glassy asphalt. On the other hand the finer naphtha may, by distillation, be drawn from the coarser products, a process of which it is not likely the Jewish priests were ignorant.

† Compare Genesis, chap. xv., v.-17.

‡ *Chaldea*.—The source of the supply of the Babylon pitch or slime, the fountains of Ison, a tributary of the Euphrates, still holds naphtha (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. II., p. 725). *The Dead Sea*.—Before the time of Abraham the Dead Sea was famous for slime pits. (Ritter, *Geography of Palestine*, Vol. III., p. 151), Strabo (B.C. 50), Josephus (A.D. 70), and Diodorus Siculus (A.D. 150), give accounts of the asphaltum and bitumen of the Dead Sea. Ritter (*ibid.* 156), notices on the east shore of the Dead Sea a gush of bitumen from the layers of chalk which gathers at the foot of the rocks. After an earthquake in 1887 large quantities of bitumen were brought to Jerusalem. Woodgate (*A Modern Layman's Faith*, p. 333), says naphtha probably once floated on the surface of the Dead Sea. *Jordan Valley*.—Asphaltum appears in large masses from Hasbeya at the west base of Hermon, all the way down the Jordan Valley (Ritter, *ibid.* 152). At Hasbeya in the limestone is an asphaltum pit which has been used for centuries, and has still an inexhaustible supply (Vol. II., *ibid.* 189). With such stores of local naphtha it seems unlikely that the Jews had to draw supplies from the great centre of naphtha, Baku, on the south-west shore of the Caspian.

drew the sacred fire,* may be a trace of an old outlet of naphtha. Ritter† notes in the limestone mountains, a short day south of Jerusalem, caverns with large mouths decreasing as they receded, probably owing to the former emission of pent-up gas. Besides the supply of naphtha drawn by Nehemiah from the old storepit of sacred fire, mention is made in Jerusalem history of the supply of water drawn from a pit or well in the city by Narcissus, Christian Bishop of Alia or Jerusalem, at the close of the third century, which, by his divine power, he so enriched with the fatness of oil that it lighted lamps.‡ These details seem to support the correctness of the account of Nehemiah's use of naphtha in Second Maccabees, and uphold the view that the fire which prevented Julian's rebuilding the Temple was the work of Jews expending vapour of naphtha in a cave or pit under the Temple.

If naphtha was the sacred fire of the Jews it seems to follow :—

1. That the use of naphtha as sacred fire may explain several of the more difficult passages in the early history of the Jews; and
2. That the use of naphtha as sacred fire may have passed from the Jews to the Christians of Jerusalem, and may explain the famous miracle of the birth of the sacred Easter Fire at the Holy Sepulchre.

(1.) If, as it seems reasonable to believe, Nehemiah cleansed the altar and the great stone near the altar with naphtha, and also that this use of naphtha was not an importation by Nehemiah from Persia, but was, as is stated in the Maccabees, the continued use of what was known to the Jews

* Williams' *The Holy City*, Vol. II., 490, and Note 3; Warren's *Underground Jerusalem*, p. 51.

† *Geography of Palestine*, Vol. III., p. 12.

‡ Williams' *The Holy City*, Vol. I., p. 226. Another proof of stores of bitumen in Jerusalem is given by Josephus (*Besant and Palmer*, p. 36). During the siege of Titus (A.D. 70), the Jews undermined the ground on which the Roman battering rams stood, and then brought into the mine materials daubed with pitch and bitumen, and set them on fire.

as sacred fire, it seems fair to suppose that in earlier passages, where sacred fire, or fire of the Lord plays a part, the agent was naphtha.* As regards the sacred altar fire it would seem that the writer of Second Maccabees held that the fire of the Lord which consumed the sacrifice of Solomon at the dedication of the Temple (II. Chron., chap. vii.), and of Aaron's first offerings (Leviticus, ix. 24), was the same as Nehemiah's sacred fire which turned the thick water of the pit into flame. Besides these examples there is the case of the water poured over the altar at Carmel by Elijah being kindled by fire from the Lord; and of the smoking furnace and burning lamp (Genesis xv. 17) which passed between the pieces of Abraham's sacrifice.† To make the naphtha become sacred fire from heaven some special means of lighting was required. That Elijah did not pour on the water till the sun was low, and that Nehemiah's naphtha did not kindle till the sun shone upon it, suggest the use of a lens, a means of kindling sacred fire known to many of the early priesthoods.‡

* That the account of the discovery of the old sacred fire given in the Maccabees was not accepted by all Jews appears from the saying that the second temple was inferior to the first temple in five respects, one of which was the want of sacred altar fire. Compare *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Fourth Edit. Articles 'Fire' and 'Temple.' It is also to be noted that according to Second Maccabees, x. 3, when (B.C. 163) Judas Maccabæus cleansed the sanctuary, he kindled fire for the altar by striking stones.

† The case of Elijah (I. Kings, chap. xviii.) is carefully worked by Mr. Woodgate (*A Modern Layman's Faith*, p. 352 and pp. 412-414). In another passage (p. 380) he says: 'The evidence of the use of naphtha by Elijah is almost conclusive.' Other examples of the appearance of sacred fire are (I. Chron., xxi.) at the staying of the plague when the Lord answered David from heaven by fire upon the altar of burnt offering; and the fire from the rock that consumed Gideon's offering (Judges, vi. 21).

‡ Compare *A Modern Layman's Faith*, p. 210. The Greeks and Romans re-kindled the sacred fire by a lens formed of concave vessels of brass: Plutarch's *Numa*, Langhorne's Translation, I., 183. In Peru the fire of the sun was kindled by a concave cup set in a bracelet (Woodgate, 411). The use of the burning glass is common in China (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, article 'Fire'). It was common in Greece during the time of Aristophanes (B.C. 430). Compare *Nubes*, line 744.

(2). As regards the second point, namely, the connection between the Jewish and the Christian sacred fires in Jerusalem, their early fire worship seems to have been one of the elements brought by the Jewish converts into the religion of Christ, the Light of the World. At the close of the second century Narcissus, Bishop of Jerusalem (A.D. 180-222), on the vigils of the feast of Easter, lighted the lamps in the church by pouring in water taken from a well which, by a miraculous and divine power, he turned into the fatness of oil.* During the ninth century (A.D. 870), Bernard the Monk, and, at the close of that century, an unnamed Greek writer, bear witness to the miracle of the Easter Fire at the Holy Sepulchre.† Two hundred years later the practice of drawing fire from heaven into the Sepulchre by rubbing the chain of the chandelier with balsam oil (balsam being apparently used in its general sense of mild oil, and so including naphtha), was one of the causes of the destruction of the Sepulchre by Biamz-allah, the Fatemite ruler of Egypt. The Sepulchre was soon restored, the fire-birth again celebrated, and the miracle established to the satisfaction of one of Biamz-allah's successors, the iron wicks of whose test-lamps the strength of the new-born fire melted.‡ At the close of the eleventh century, the time of the First Crusade, the birth of the Sacred Easter Fire at the Sepulchre was one of the chief wonders of Jerusalem. The keen disappointment caused by the failure of the miracle for three days at the beginning of the first Easter of Baldwin's reign (A.D. 1096) was removed by a barefoot procession. On the arrival of the procession at the Sepulchre a flame flew from lamp to lamp, and afterwards a flame miraculously lighted the lamps at Baldwin's table.§ During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (until, apparently, 1291, when Latin rule came to an end) the Latin priests shared with Greeks, Armenians, Copts, and Abyssinians, the glory of kindling the Easter Fire. Since the withdrawal of the Latins,

* Williams' *Holy City*, Vol. I., p. 226.

† *Ibid.*, Vol. I., 348 ; II., 533, note 3.

‡ *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 847.

§ Besant and Palmer, *The History of Jerusalem*, pp. 339-340.

Greeks, Armenians, Copts, and Abyssinians still join in collecting and distributing the new-born fire.*

Accounts vary regarding the means employed to use the creature of naphtha for the honour of the Light of the World. Different means seem to have been employed at different times. Since the time of the Crusades the use of a naphtha-smearcd wire or chain to bring the fire from above seems to have been discontinued. In the early years of the present century, in answer to prayer, the Patriarch was believed to receive tongues of fire in a Veronica napkin. In 1833, Thomson† describes how a procession passed thrice round the tomb. An aged bishop, the last of the procession, went alone inside of the sepulchre. After a few moments a light shone in an aperture in the wall, and a bundle of tapers were thrust in and drawn back ablaze. The fire was thought to be a divine light which did not burn. About 1850, Kinglake‡ describes how on Easter Saturday the Chief Priest of the Greeks, accompanied by the Turkish Governor, entered the tomb. After a long pause, from out the small apertures on either side of the sepulchre issued long shining flames. The pilgrims rushed forward madly striving to light their tapers. The present practice is thus described by Sir Charles Warren in 1876.§ The Holy Easter Fire does not descend from heaven; it appears or emanates from the stone couch in the inner chamber of the Sepulchre. The Patriarch is shut into the inner chamber and prays that the fire may appear. As the Patriarch prays the fire springs up in a soft flame about half an inch high. He collects the flames with both hands and drops them into a goblet till the goblet is filled to the brim with flame. The Patriarch hands the flaming goblet out of the Sepulchre into the vestibule. A Greek, an Armenian, and a Syrian receive a share of the flame into their goblets, and hand the fire through the holes to the assembled people. These details Sir Charles Warren obtained himself from the

* *The Land and the Book*, pp. 480-482.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 480-482.

‡ Kinglake's *Eothen*, p. 196.

§ Warren's *Underground Jerusalem*, p. 437.

Patriarch who collected the fire. The description of the birth of the flames suggests that they were produced by dropping naphtha on the stone couch which had been prepared by heat. The process recalls the description of Nehemiah's use of naphtha to cleanse a great stone near the Temple Altar.* The passage in Second Maccabees (Chap. i., 31-32) is said to be corrupt, and is difficult. After, by pouring naphtha over it, a great fire had been kindled on the altar, and the sacrifice was consumed, Nehemiah commanded to pour on great stones the water that was left. When this was done a flame was kindled (on the stone); but when the light from the altar shone over against it, all was consumed.' The sense seems to be that the altar flame was so intensely bright that the flames from the stone paled before it. In this case, as perhaps by previous heating in the case of the stone couch of the Sepulchre, the great stone being close to the blazing altar fire, had become so baked that when poured over its hot surface the naphtha burst into flame.†

After his account of the birth of the Easter Fire, Sir C. Warren says‡—'In Sion, the holy place of David, in the

* This great stone is apparently the stone which the Jews believed to be Jacob's pillow, and which in the second or Zerubbabel Temple (B.C. 520-515) took the place of the lost Ark. It seems also to be the stone which the Bordeaux pilgrims in A.D. 333, thirty years before Julian's disaster, described as the bored stone which the Jews were allowed to visit once a year, and which they oiled and bewailed (compare Fergusson, *The Holy Sepulchre*, pp. 117-119). The weight of authority is fairly balanced in the long-fought fight whether the bored stone was at the Domed Rock (or Mosque of Omar) in the centre of, or near the Aksa Mosque in the south-west corner of the sacred enclosure. On the whole the opinion of the writer of the Article on the Temple in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, namely, that the bored stone was in the Mosque Aksa, and has been either broken or buried, is most in accord with the evidence.

† Compare Woodgate, *A Modern Layman's Faith*, p. 409. That the use of heated stones to kindle fire was familiar to the Jewish priests is shown by the Temple practice of kindling incense by dropping it on heated stones on the Altar of Incense. Compare Isaiah, vi. 6, where 'live coal' should be 'hot stone.' See Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, I. 55, and I. 339.

‡ *Underground Jerusalem*, p. 82 and 435.

church of the Resurrection, fire is worshipped after the example of the Magi. On Easter Day Russians put the new fire in their mouths, under their arms, and about their legs, to cure rheumatism. In their excitement they forget Christ and, like the Magi of old, adore the Holy Fire.*

Thus, from the Emperor Julian's disaster, through 4000 years, back to fire-worshipping Chaldea and on to the present day, has been traced the sacred mystery of Naphtha the cleanser. It is the history of the secret knowledge of a special substance, the gift of their God to his chosen people, and therefore, as they not unreasonably supposed, free to be used by his people in any way which might make for the glory and dignity of their Guardian.*

J. M. CAMPBELL.

ART. VII.—THE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH PRECEDED THE WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Parliamentary Blue-Books on South Africa from June to October, 1899. C. 9404. C. 9415. C. 9507. C. 9518. C. 9521. C. 9530.

IT is surely impossible to over-rate the importance of ascertaining the exact cause and origin of the present war in South Africa—a war which has assumed such gigantic proportions that a terrible responsibility rests on those who

* The renewal of Fire, whether from oil as at the Sepulchre at Jerusalem, or from flint and steel as at St. Peter's at Rome, fits well with a death rite which passes into resurrection. But the need of a fresh fire, either at regular intervals or on special occasions, is a widespread belief apart from any question of resurrection. The Guardian Fire exposed to evil influences, taking Guardian-like evil into itself, becomes tarnished and loses its guardian virtue. Till lately over Northern Europe, to scare pestilence among man or beast, new, or need, fire had to be produced from friction. In the Chinese Spring Festival of the Tombs (*Emerson's Masks, Heads, and Faces*, p. 68), all fires are put out, and new fire is kindled from a burning glass.

initiated it. It is no doubt true that the war having been begun must be finished, even if we were not absolutely right in commencing it. But that patriotic duty does not cancel our other duty of considering and determining whether we were justified in entering upon, and in our conduct of, the negotiations which culminated in war. It is not sufficient to say that we were bound to take up arms in our own defence, after the invasion of our territory, and as soon as the Boers issued their highly insulting ultimatum, for the ultimatum was merely the end of the negotiations, and showed that the Boers rightly or wrongly had come to the conclusion that no settlement satisfactory to them could ever be arrived at by peaceful means, and if that was their opinion, they were probably justified in entering upon warlike operations before we had time to bring our troops from this country. Nor is it relevant to say that subsequent events have proved that war was inevitable, and that the enormous warlike preparations of the Boers coupled with their alliance with the Free State and the issue of the ultimatum, show that they had from the beginning determined certainly to assert their own complete independence, and possibly to expel the British entirely from South Africa. All this may or may not be wholly or partially true, and of course, if it be true, it is certain that the Boers were merely playing with us all through the negotiations, but we are not entitled to make that assumption without proof, and definite proof we are not likely to obtain. Moreover, the Boers are as much entitled to reply that the disastrous crime of the Jameson raid, and our treatment of those responsible for it, show that from the beginning we had determined to seize the Transvaal for our own purposes. We know of course that this accusation is utterly false, but unfortunately circumstances have given a certain amount of colour to it. In any case, neither side is entitled to impute evil motives and sinister designs to the other in the negotiations which preceded the war. The simple and all-important question in allocating responsibility for the war is (1.) Were we right in entering upon the discussion of the matters in dispute with the Boers,

and (2.) Were we to blame in the negotiations which terminated in the issue of the ultimatum?

It seems to us that the first of these questions is more open to argument than the second, yet curiously enough it is as regards the second that the Government are chiefly attacked, even Mr. John Morley, for instance, admitting that we were bound to do what we could to have the grievances of the Uitlanders redressed, and that we could not turn a deaf ear to their petitions. But if that be admitted, the Government win their whole case, for it is impossible in studying the blue-books on the long correspondence and negotiations which took place after Sir Alfred Milner had 'put his hand to the plough,' to resist the conclusion that the Government were at last placed in this position—that they must either retire from the contest which they had begun for redress of the grievances of the Uitlanders, having obtained no concession of any value, and having made the position of British subjects in the Transvaal much worse than before by the public exhibition of the Government's impotence to help them, or they must face the alternative of war. We despatched Sir Alfred Milner as High Commissioner to South Africa—and his appointment was hailed with acclamation on all sides—with the difficulties in the Transvaal expressly in view. Our Commissioner reported in strong terms as to the unjust treatment of Uitlanders and more especially of British subjects, and he was authorised to enter on a Conference with President Kruger as to how these grievances might be removed. Were the Government to blame up to this point? We are not aware that even the most violent opponent has said so, though in the light of the wisdom which comes after the event, it is perhaps a question whether, if we had known the terrible struggle before us, we would have considered that 'the game was altogether worth the candle.' But assuming that we were justified in authorising Sir Alfred Milner's interference on behalf of the Uitlanders, could we possibly have meekly acquiesced in President Kruger's refusal to give us any concession worth having? The fifth day of the Conference terminated on June 5th, 1899, Sir Alfred Milner declaring that

‘His Honour (i.e. President Kruger) and I are unable to agree on the subject which has formed the principal topic of discussion between us. . . . According to my view of the case, the effect of what has happened is, that we are in the *status quo ante* this meeting. . . . This conference is absolutely at an end, and there is no obligation, on either side, arising out of it.’

It is evident from the Blue-book on the Conference (C. 9404) that the High Commissioner was of opinion that an attempt was being made to entice him into acceptance of proposals which were worthless to attain the object in view, and accordingly he was careful to state that, the conference having failed, both sides returned to the *status quo*. Up to this point no blame can attach to Her Majesty’s Government, except in the technical sense that they are responsible for the action of the High Commissioner. But from that point Mr. Chamberlain took up the thread of the negotiations.

The next step in the proceedings was that the Government of the Transvaal introduced into the Volksraad, without consultation with Her Majesty’s Government, certain proposals for alteration in the franchise. Mr. Chamberlain accordingly telegraphed to Sir Alfred Milner on 11th July, 1899, as follows (Blue-book C. 9415, p. 43):—

‘You are authorised, having regard to the uncertainty which still exists as to the exact nature of the latest proposals, to inform the Government of the South African Republic, through Greene, as follows—

‘If they desire that their proposals shall form any element in settlement of differences between the two Governments, Her Majesty’s Government request that full particulars of the new scheme may be furnished to them officially, and hope that, until they have had an opportunity of considering it and communicating their views, the Transvaal Government will not proceed further with it.’

To this a reply was sent, through the British Agent in the Transvaal, dated 13th July, (C. 9415, p. 45). It declares that, at the Bloemfontein conference, ‘Sir Alfred Milner, while not discouraging President Kruger from laying his franchise proposals before the Volksraad, had declared that he must do it of his own accord, and not as part of an undertaking with Her Majesty’s Government, and the conference

was entirely ended. The Transvaal Government were, therefore, obliged to treat the franchise question of their own accord, and not as part of an understanding with Her Majesty's Government.'

The reply goes on to state that they have endeavoured to assimilate their proposals so far as possible with those of H.M.'s Government, and that the new draft law indicates the farthest limit at which people and Volksraad could arrive. As this draft had now been taken over by a Commission of the Volksraad, the whole matter had passed out of the hands of the Transvaal Government, and it was no longer possible to meet Mr. Chamberlain's request.

The draft franchise law above referred to was passed, and came into force on the 26th of July, 1899. Of this measure it is sufficient to say that, although it conferred the franchise after seven years' residence, that privilege was alleged by the Uitlanders and those interested to be so surrounded with difficulties and qualifications as to be absolutely worthless. Accordingly, Mr. Chamberlain made the following very reasonable request, conveyed to Sir Alfred Milner by telegraph on 31st July (C. 9518, p. 29):—

'I now authorise you to invite President Kruger to appoint delegates to discuss with ours question whether reforms, which Volksraad has passed, will give immediate and substantial representation to the Uitlanders, and if not, what additions and alterations will be necessary in order to secure this result. If invitation is accepted, our delegates would not be precluded from raising any point calculated to improve measure.'

This was followed by a supplementary telegram, dated August 1st (C. 9518, p. 29), as follows:—

'We must confine proposed joint inquiry in the manner suggested in telegram of 31st July, to question of political representation of Uitlanders. You should, however, let President Kruger know, through Greene, that you will be ready, after conclusion of enquiry, to discuss with him not only the report of the inquiry and the franchise question, but other matters as well, including arbitration without introduction of foreign element.'

The substance of these telegrams was delivered by Sir A. Milner to the Transvaal Government.

The following important reply, dated 19th August (C. 9521, p. 46), was received, and it may be said to have been the turning-point of the negotiations. It is addressed to the British Agent at Pretoria, and is as follows:—

‘Sir,—With reference to your proposal for a joint enquiry contained in your despatches of 2nd and 3rd August, Government of South African Republic have the honour to suggest the following alternative proposal for consideration of Her Majesty’s Government, which this Government trusts may lead to a final settlement. (1) The Government are willing to recommend to the Volksraad and the people a five years’ retrospective franchise as proposed by His Excellency, the High Commissioner, on 1st June, 1899. (2) The Government are further willing to recommend to the Volksraad that eight new seats in the first Volksraad, and, if necessary, also in the second Volksraad, be given to the population of the Witwaterstrand, thus with the two sitting members for the Goldfields, giving to the population thereof ten representatives in a Board of thirty-six, and in future the representation of the Goldfields of this Republic will not fall below the proportion of one-fourth of the total. (3) The new Burghers shall, equally with the old Burghers, be entitled to vote at the election for State President and Commandant-General. (4) This Government will always be prepared to take into consideration such friendly suggestions regarding the details of the Franchise Law as Her Majesty’s Government through the British Agent may wish to convey to it. (5) In putting forward the above proposals the Government of South African Republic assumes (a) That Her Majesty’s Government will agree that the present intervention shall not form a precedent for future similar action, and that in future no interference in the internal affairs of the Republic will take place. (b) That Her Majesty’s Government will not further insist on the assertion of the suzerainty, the controversy on the subject being allowed tacitly to drop. (c) That arbitration (from which foreign element other than Orange Free State is to be excluded) will be conceded as soon as the franchise scheme has become law. (6) Immediately on Her Majesty’s Government accepting this proposal for a settlement, the Government will ask the Volksraad to adjourn for the purpose of consulting the people about it, and the whole scheme might become law say within a few weeks. In the meantime the form and scope of the proposed tribunal are also to be discussed and provisionally agreed upon, while the franchise scheme is being referred to the people, so that no time may be lost in putting an end to the present state of affairs. The Government trust that Her Majesty’s Government will clearly understand that in the opinion of this Government the existing Franchise Law of this Republic is both fair and liberal to the new population, and that the consideration that induces them to go further, as they do in the above proposal, is their strong desire to get the controversies between the two Governments settled ;

and, further, to put an end to present strained relations between the two Governments, and the incalculable harm and loss it has already occasioned in South Africa, and to prevent a racial war from the effects of which South Africa may not recover for many generations, perhaps never at all ; and, therefore, this Government, having regard to all these circumstances, would highly appreciate it if Her Majesty's Government, seeing the necessity of preventing the present crisis from developing still further, and the urgency of an early termination of the present state of affairs, would expedite the acceptance or refusal of the settlement here offered.'

Two days later the following further despatch from the Transvaal Government, dated 21st August, was received :—

'In continuation of my despatch of the 19th instant, and with reference to the communication to you of the State Attorney this morning, I wish to forward to you the following in explanation thereof, with the request that the same may be telegraphed to His Excellency the High Commissioner for South Africa, as forming part of the proposals of this Government embodied in the above-named despatch. (1) The proposals of this Government regarding question of franchise and representation contained in that despatch must be regarded as especially conditional on Her Majesty's Government consenting to the points set forth in paragraph 5 of the despatch, viz. : (a) In future not to interfere in internal affairs of the South African Republic ; (b) Not to insist further on its assertion of existence of suzerainty ; (c) To agree to arbitration. (2) Referring to paragraph 6 of the despatch, this Government trusts that it is clear to Her Majesty's Government that this Government has not consulted the Volksraad as to this question, and will only do so when an affirmative reply to its proposals has been received from Her Majesty's Government.'

Mr. Chamberlain's reply to these two despatches is contained in a telegram to Sir Alfred Milner, dated 28th August (C. 9521, p. 49), and communicated in a despatch to the Transvaal Government, dated 30th August. It is as follows :—

"Her Majesty's Government have considered the proposals which the South African Republic Government in their notes to the British agent of 19th and 21st August have put forward, as an alternative to those contained in my telegram of 31st July. Her Majesty's Government assume that the adoption in principle, of the franchise proposals made by you at Bloemfontein, will not be hampered by any conditions which would impair their effect, and that by proposed increase of seats for the goldfields, and by other provisions, the South African Republic intend to grant immediate and substantial representation of the Uitlanders. That being so, Her Majesty's Government are unable to appreciate the objections entertained by the Government of the South African Republic to a Joint Commission of Inquiry, into the complicated details and technical questions

upon which the practical effect of the proposals depends. Her Majesty's Government, however, will be ready to agree that the British agent, assisted by such other persons as you may appoint, shall make the investigation necessary to satisfy them that the result desired will be achieved, and failing this, to enable them to make those suggestions which the Government of the South African Republican state that they will be prepared to take into consideration. Her Majesty's Government assume that every facility will be given to the British agent by the Government of the South African Republic, and they would point out that the inquiry would be both easier and shorter if the Government of the South African Republic will in any future law omit the complicated conditions of registration, qualification, and behaviour, which accompanied previous proposals, and would have entirely nullified their beneficial effect.

'Her Majesty's Government hope that the Government of the South African Republic will wait to receive their suggestions founded on the report of the British Agents' investigations before submitting a new franchise law to the Volksraad and to the Burghers. With regard to the conditions of the Government of the South African Republic: First, as regards intervention, Her Majesty's Government hope that the fulfilment of the promises made and the just treatment of the Uitlanders in future will render unnecessary any further intervention on their behalf, but Her Majesty's Government cannot of course debar themselves from their rights under the Conventions nor divest themselves of the ordinary obligations of a civilized power to protect its subjects in a foreign country from injustice. Secondly, with regard to suzerainty Her Majesty's Government would refer the Government of the South African Republic to the second paragraph of my despatch of 13th July. Thirdly, Her Majesty's Government agree to a discussion of the form and scope of a Tribunal of Arbitration from which foreigners and foreign influence are excluded. Such a discussion, which will be of the highest importance to the future relations of the two countries, should be carried on between the President and yourself, and for this purpose it appears to be necessary that a further conference, which Her Majesty's Government suggest should be held at Cape Town, should be at once arranged.

'Her Majesty's Government also desire to remind the Government of the South African Republic that there are other matters of difference between the two Governments which will not be settled by the grant of political representation to the Uitlanders, and which are not proper subjects for reference to arbitration. It is necessary that these should be settled concurrently with the questions now under discussion, and they will form, with the question of arbitration, proper subjects for consideration at the proposed conference.'

The above communications are of so much importance that we have given them *verbatim*, and the question whether or not

the war was justifiable may be said to depend on whether the terms offered by the Boers on 19th and 21st July were sufficient and should have been accepted, for as soon as Mr. Chamberlain suggested any qualification of these proposals, the Transvaal Government promptly withdrew them altogether and war became inevitable. A good deal has been made of the fact that the Transvaal Government in this proposal conceded a five instead of a seven years' franchise. But the real point at issue was not whether the franchise should be obtainable in five years or in seven years, but whether in the new law which had been passed by the Volksraad, it was so hampered and restricted by conditions alleged to be impossible of fulfilment as to be practically valueless. If this allegation was true—and it was made on good authority—it was of little consequence whether the franchise was to be obtainable in five years or in fifty years, and it was for this reason that our Government had asked for a joint inquiry as to the practical working of the new law. To agree, therefore, to accept this offer of a five years' franchise without any provision to make it effective, would have been to give up the whole point of our negotiations. In addition to this, two conditions to be accepted by us are annexed to the proposal which are of the utmost importance, and these conditions having been put forward in a very equivocal form in the first despatch, are in the one of two days' later enunciated in language which leaves no mistake as to their meaning. It almost looks as if the Government of the Transvaal had been seized with a sudden fear that their proposals of 19th August might be accepted, and had hastened to make such a catastrophe impossible. In the despatch of 19th August, the Transvaal Government merely 'assume (a) that Her Majesty's Government will agree that the present intervention shall not form a precedent for future similar action, and that in future no interference in the internal affairs of the Republic will take place, and (b) that Her Majesty's Government will not further insist on the assertion of the suzerainty, the controversy on the subject being tacitly allowed to drop.' But in the despatch of 21st August, the proposals of the Transvaal Government are 'to be regarded as

expressly conditional on her Majesty's Government consenting (a) in future not to interfere in internal affairs of South African Republic, and (b) not to insist further on its assertion of existence of suzerainty.'

To agree that intervention at present is not to form a precedent for interfering again is not the same thing as 'expressly consenting not to interfere in the future,' and still more 'to allow the controversy on the subject of suzerainty tacitly to drop' is an entirely different thing from 'expressly consenting not to insist further on the assertion of the existence of suzerainty.' The former would simply mean that nothing more was to be said upon the subject, both parties maintaining their respective claims as before, while the latter appears to mean that if the proposals of the Transvaal Government were accepted, renunciation of the suzerainty was to be an express condition.

It is difficult to see how Mr. Chamberlain could have made any other reply than that which he did make. He points out that any future franchise law should omit 'the complicated conditions of registration, qualification, and behaviour which accompanied previous proposals, and would have entirely nullified their beneficial effect,' but as the Transvaal Government object to a Joint Commission of inquiry on the subject, he suggests that 'the British Agent, assisted by such other persons as you may appoint, shall make the investigation necessary to satisfy them that the result desired will be achieved.' As regards the conditions, he hopes 'that the fulfilment of the promises made, and the just treatment of the Uitlanders in future will render unnecessary any further intervention on their behalf, but Her Majesty's Government cannot, of course, debar themselves from their rights under the Conventions, nor divest themselves of the ordinary obligations of a civilized power, to protect its subjects in a foreign country from injustice.' On the question of suzerainty he refers the Transvaal Government to the second paragraph of his despatch of 13th July. That despatch is addressed to Sir Alfred Milner, and is printed in Blue-book C. 9507. The second paragraph is as follows:—

'Her Majesty's Government concur generally in the views expressed in your despatch, and have no intention of continuing to discuss this question with the Government of the Republic, whose contention that the South African Republic is a sovereign international state is not, in their opinion, warranted either by law or history, and is wholly inadmissible.'

If the Transvaal Government had meant only that 'the controversy on the suzerainty should be tacitly allowed to drop,' Mr. Chamberlain's reply would have been an acceptance of that condition, for he says that Her Majesty's Government 'have no intention of continuing to discuss the question,' and they had not demanded any admission on the subject from the Transvaal Government. For this reason Mr. Chamberlain, speaking in the House of Commons on October 19th, 1899, declared that he considered that he had accepted the condition as to suzerainty proposed by the Transvaal Government. But from the reply of the Transvaal (see *infra*), it is evident that what was demanded was not a mere agreement not to discuss the subject further, but an admission by us that the suzerainty was 'non-existent.'

To agree to debar ourselves in the future from any right of interference in the affairs of the Transvaal which we may at present possess, and to renounce any right of suzerainty which may at present belong to us under the Conventions, would have been to put us in a worse position than before, and if the effect of the franchise was to be nullified by conditions, the result of all the negotiations would have been, not that we should have obtained any concessions from the Boers, but that they would have obtained very material concessions from us, the Uitlanders being left in no better position than before, and we having formally renounced all claim to suzerainty and all right to interfere again on their behalf!

In the debate in the House of Commons in October, 1899, Mr. Chamberlain was severely criticised by Sir Edward Clark and Mr. John Morley for having said that he had accepted the conditions proposed by the Transvaal Government in their despatch of 19th August, and the question was not unnaturally put to him, 'if you intended to accept the conditions, and your despatch was not understood to do so, why did you

not explain the mistake?' But the explanation is obvious. What the Colonial Secretary accepted and intended to accept was the proposal that the controversy regarding the suzerainty should not be further discussed. What the Transvaal Government intended him to accept was an admission that the suzerainty was non-existent, and as soon as they saw that he was not prepared to make that admission, they declared that their conditions had not been accepted, and that accordingly the proposal had lapsed. Mr. Chamberlain has also been criticised for saying that he had accepted 'nine-tenths' of the proposals contained in the despatch of 19th August. If these proposals were to be read in the most favourable light, this was true. If it was not proposed that we should renounce all claim to the suzerainty, and all right to interfere on behalf of British subjects in the Transvaal in the future, and if the gift of a five years' franchise was not to be hampered by conditions and difficulties which would make it valueless, then Mr. Chamberlain accepted not merely nine-tenths, but the whole of the proposals. But how can he be blamed for clearly defining what he considered himself to be accepting? The result of that definition was to show that the Boers had no intention of proposing the minimum which he was prepared to accept.

It is impossible to suppose that the Transvaal Government seriously expected their conditions to be accepted, though in their reply they make the non-acceptance a ground for withdrawing their proposals.

It is to be observed that Mr. Chamberlain agrees to the proposal for arbitration, though the Transvaal Government had stipulated that the exclusion of foreigners should not exclude the Orange Free State. This desire on the part of the Boers to submit their differences with us to the arbitration of their present comrades in the war, is highly amusing. The last paragraph only of Mr. Chamberlain's reply is perhaps open to some criticism, for Sir Alfred Milner's policy had rather indicated that if genuine political representation could have been obtained for the Uitlanders, other questions might be left over. It is true that in a despatch dated 23rd August,

1899 (p. 60), he dissents from this view, but at any rate this impression had been produced at the Bloemfontein Conference, and in any case it seems to us it would have been a wise policy. On the other hand, Sir Alfred had a strong opinion that every difference should now be arranged, and in the said despatch he writes, 'Nothing could be more deplorable than that after the terrible strain of the last few months, a number of unsettled issues should remain between us and the Transvaal Government.' The gist, then, of Mr. Chamberlain's reply was an acceptance of the offer of a five years' franchise to the Uitlanders, provided it were found on inquiry really to confer that benefit, and a refusal to agree to debar this country from all future interference or to give up the suzerainty. The reply of the Transvaal Government is dated 2nd September. It is long and is divided into ten paragraphs. We give *verbatim* all that appears important.

(1) 'This Government has observed with the deepest regret that Her Majesty's Government have not been able to decide on accepting the proposal for a five years' franchise and extension of the representation of the Witwaterstrand with the conditions attached thereto, set forth in its notes of 19th and 21st August, the more so that from semi-official discussions which have been brought to the knowledge of Her Majesty's Government, they had thought that they might infer that their proposal would have been acceptable to Her Majesty's Government. As a consequence of that communication this Government considers that its proposal has lapsed whereby lapses also the necessity for laying it before the representatives of the people.'

(3) ' . . . As regards a unilateral (in place of a joint) inquiry as now proposed by Her Majesty's Government, this Government wishes to make known its readiness whenever it may appear that the existing franchise law can be made still more effective, to lay before the Volksraad proposals for altering or making it clearer. If they can be of assistance to Her Majesty's Government with any information or explanation they are always ready to furnish this, though it appears to it, that the finding of a unilateral commission, especially when arrived at before the working of the law has been duly tested, would be premature, and thus probably of little value.

(4) 'Passing now to the discussion of the observations of Her Majesty's Government on the conditions attached by this Government to the proposal which has now lapsed in consequence of the non-acceptance by Her Majesty's Government of these stipulations, the Government wishes to observe (a) That with reference to the question of intervention,

this Government has neither asked nor intended that Her Majesty's Government should abandon any right which it really might have on the ground either of the Convention of London, 1884, or of international law to intervene for the protection of British subjects in this country. (b) That as regards the assertion of suzerainty its non-existence has, as this Government venture to think, already been so clearly stated in its despatch of 16th April, 1898, that it would be superfluous to repeat here the facts, arguments, and deductions stated therein; it simply wishes to remark here that it abides by its views expressed in that despatch.'

(10) ' . . . This Government having regard to the difference that in their opinion exists between the invitation as put forward in the telegraphic despatch of 2nd August, and that conveyed in the despatch of 27th July from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and further, to the fact that in the last-named it is stated that the most suitable way of dealing with points involving complicated details and questions of a technical nature would be to discuss them in the first place by delegates appointed by both Governments, who should report the result of their deliberations and submit their recommendations to the two Governments respectively, and assuming that it is not intended thereby to interfere in the internal affairs of this Republic or to establish precedent, but simply to gain information and elucidations whether the measures already taken are effectual or not; and, if not, to show this Government where such is the case, this Government would be glad to learn from Her Majesty's Government how they propose that the Commission should be constituted, and what place and time for meeting is suggested.'

The gist of the above despatch is that the Transvaal Government unconditionally withdraw their offer of 19th August, because they consider that Her Majesty's Government have not agreed to their conditions. Yet as regards the question of future intervention, they declare in paragraph 4 that they 'neither ask nor intend that Her Majesty's Government should abandon any right' which they already have, and that is all that Mr. Chamberlain demanded! As regards suzerainty, however, it is clear that what they required was an express renunciation of any such claim.

One would have expected, if there had been any genuine desire to come to an agreement with Her Majesty's Government, that an attempt would have been made to discuss further the points at issue in the hope of arriving at some understanding; but, so far from doing so, the Transvaal Government hasten to declare that their proposals of 19th August have now lapsed, thereby absolutely debarring our Government

from making any further attempt to arrive at an agreement on them. Only one paragraph in the whole despatch holds out any hope of further negotiation by indicating that they might agree to the appointment of a Commission to inquire into the working of the Franchise Law already passed by the Volksraad. This was an ingenious suggestion, for it was going back to the proposal made, as we have seen, by our own Government on 31st July. The reasons for not accepting this suggestion to return to the proposal of 31st July, were well stated by Mr. Chamberlain in the House of Commons on 19th October as follows:—

‘They (the Government of the Transvaal) withdrew their proposal, and they went back to a proposal which was then, I think, a month or six weeks old, and asked us once more to engage in a commission which might have met and lasted for weeks, but which in the end was certain to have one, only one, result, because in the meantime we had ascertained from our own examination of the provisions of the Bill that as it stood it was perfectly inadequate to give us the substantial representation we asked. Let me again quote the words of the hon. and learned member for South Shields. He is a lawyer, and quite competent to consider a subject of this kind. This is what he says—“I have gone carefully through the proposed Franchise Bill by which President Kruger claims to have given a seven years’ franchise to the Uitlanders. I do not hesitate to say that that Act is a grotesque and palpable sham. I doubt whether 200 or 300 Uitlanders could be found who could honestly fulfil its conditions.” I agree entirely with every word of that passage. Is it contended by anybody, in face of that statement made by a gentleman who is not a member of my party, and who is well qualified to speak—is it contended that we ought to have gone back, after all these three or four months’ delay, to an enquiry which could only have been proposed in order to gain time while ammunition and arms and food were pouring into the Transvaal, while the unrest and distress of the Rand were increasing every day? I do not see how it would have been possible to maintain the condition of things which thus obtained in the Transvaal for the time that would have been requisite for such an inquiry.’

Mr. Chamberlain’s reply to the Transvaal Government, dated 8th September, is as follows (C. 9521, p. 64):—

‘Her Majesty’s Government understand the note of the South African Republic Government of 2nd September to mean that their proposals made in their note of 19th August, are now withdrawn because the reply of Her Majesty’s Government with respect to future intervention and

suzerainty is not acceptable. Her Majesty's Government have absolutely repudiated the view of the political status of the South African Republic taken by the Government of the South African Republic in their note of 16th April, 1898, and also in their note of 9th May, 1899, in which they claim the status of a Sovereign international State, and they are therefore unable to consider any proposal which is made conditional on the acceptance by Her Majesty's Government of these views. It is on this ground that Her Majesty's Government have been compelled to regard the last proposal by the Government of the South African Republic as unacceptable in the form in which it has been presented. Her Majesty's Government cannot now consent to go back to the proposals for which those in the note of 19th August are intended as a substitute, especially as they are satisfied that the law of 1899, in which these proposals were finally embodied, is insufficient to secure the immediate and substantial representation which Her Majesty's Government have always had in view, and which they gather from the reply of the Government of the South African Republic that the latter admit to be reasonable. Moreover, the presentation of the proposals of the note of the 19th August indicates that the Government of the South African Republic have themselves recognised that their previous offer might be with advantage enlarged, and that the independence of the South African Republic would be thereby in no way impaired. Her Majesty's Government are still prepared to accept the offer made in paragraphs 1, 2, and 3 of the note of 19th August, taken by themselves, provided that the inquiry which Her Majesty's Government have proposed, whether joint—as Her Majesty's Government originally suggested—or unilateral, shows that the new scheme of representation will not be encumbered by conditions which will nullify the intention to give substantial and immediate representation to the Uitlanders. In this connection Her Majesty's Government assume that, as stated to the British Agent, the new members of the Raad will be permitted to use their own language. The acceptance of these terms by the Government of the South African Republic would at once remove the tension between the two Governments, and would in all probability render unnecessary any further intervention on the part of Her Majesty's Government to secure the redress of grievances, which the Uitlanders would themselves be able to bring to the notice of the Executive and the Raad. Her Majesty's Government are increasingly impressed with the danger of further delay in relieving the strain which has already caused so much injury to the interests of South Africa, and they earnestly press for an immediate and definite reply to their present proposal. If it is acceded to, they will be ready to make immediate arrangements for a further conference between the President of the South African Republic and the High Commissioner to settle all the details of the proposed tribunal of arbitration, and the questions referred to in the note of the 30th August, which are neither Uitlander grievances nor questions of interpretation, but which might

be easily settled by friendly communications between the representatives of the two Governments. If, however, as they most earnestly hope will not be the case, the reply of the South African Republic is negative or inconclusive, Her Majesty's Government must reserve to themselves the right to reconsider the situation *de novo*, and to formulate their own proposals for a settlement.'

It is hardly necessary to consider the despatches that followed this one, for it may be said to have ended the negotiations so far as any chance of peace was concerned. The Transvaal Government replied on 16th September (C. 9530, p. 11), expressing regret that Her Majesty's Government declined to revert to the first proposal for an inquiry, and declaring that their proposal of 19th August was only made subject to the acceptance of the conditions annexed, and it is to be noted that both here and in their reply of 2nd September, they are careful to state that the proposal has 'now lapsed,' thereby closing the door against any possible agreement on the question.

On 22nd September Mr. Chamberlain replied, expressing 'profound regret' that the proposals of Her Majesty's Government had not been accepted, and concluding thus:—

'The refusal of the Government of the South African Republic to entertain the offer thus made, coming as it does at the end of nearly four months of protracted negotiations, themselves the climax of an agitation extending over a period of more than five years, makes it useless to further pursue a discussion on the lines hitherto followed, and Her Majesty's Government are now compelled to consider the situation afresh, and to formulate their own proposals for a final settlement of the issues which have been created in South Africa by the policy constantly followed for many years by the Government of the South African Republic. They will communicate to you the result of their deliberations in a later despatch.'

On 30th September, the British agent at Pretoria telegraphed that 'the State Secretary would be much obliged if he might be informed by Monday what decision, if any, the British Cabinet have taken.' Mr. Chamberlain replied on 1st October, 'The despatch of Her Majesty's Government is being prepared: it will be some days before it is ready.'

On the 9th of October, the Transvaal Government issued their celebrated ultimatum in which they demanded that all

British troops on the border of the Republic should be withdrawn, that all reinforcements of troops which had arrived in South Africa since June 1899, should be removed from South Africa, and that any troops then on the high seas should not be landed in South Africa. To such a demand, there could of course, be but one reply.

As regards the conduct of the negotiations, therefore, it seems to us that Mr. Chamberlain was not to blame, and that the reason they came to no satisfactory result was because the Transvaal Government were determined from the beginning to make no concession of the smallest value. If there had been the faintest intention on the part of the Boers to meet the demands of our Government, it is impossible to suppose that an agreement would not have been arrived at. The question remains—granted that we were not to blame in the negotiations—were we entitled to interfere at all on behalf of British subjects in the Transvaal? It is said that we were not, because we undertook by the Conventions of 1881 and 1884, not to interfere in the internal affairs of the Transvaal. But it is evident that the only reason why equal treatment of British subjects was not made an express article of the Convention was because it was assumed to be unnecessary. As Mr. Chamberlain points out to Sir Alfred Milner in his despatch of July 27th, 1899 (C. 9518), ‘The Conventions were granted by Her Majesty of her own grace, and they were granted in the full expectation that, according to the categorical assurances conveyed by the Boer leaders to the Royal Commission in the negotiations preliminary to the Convention of 1881, equality of treatment would be strictly maintained among the white inhabitants of the Transvaal. These assurances as detailed in the Blue-book of May, 1882, were as follows, according to the report of the Conference held at Newcastle on 10th May, 1881:—

“ 239 (President) Before annexation, had British subjects complete freedom of trade throughout the Transvaal; were they on the same footing as citizens of the Transvaal?

“ 240 (Mr. Kruger) They were on the same footing as the Burghers; there was not the slightest difference in accordance with the Sand River Convention.

“241 (President) I presume that you will not object to that continuing?

“242 (Mr. Kruger) No; there will be equal protection for everyone.

“243 (Sir E. Wood)—And equal privileges?

“244 (Mr. Kruger)—We make no difference so far as burgher rights are concerned. There might perhaps be some slight difference in the case of a young person who has just come into the country.

“It was afterwards explained that what Mr. Kruger intended to convey by the last remark was that ‘according to our law a newcomer has not his burgher rights immediately. The words ‘young person’ do not refer to age, but to the time of residence in the Republic. According to an old Grondwet (constitution) you had to reside a year in the country.’”

It is unfortunate that these express assurances were not made a condition of the retrocession of the Transvaal and inserted in the Convention. But it is obvious that the reason this was not done was because the assurances of the Boer leaders as to their laws and practice were considered sufficient. So far, therefore, as the formal and solemn declarations of the Boers go, we had every right to interfere on the ground that the promise of equal treatment to British subjects had been broken.

To shew how cruelly unequal was the treatment of British subjects in the Transvaal, we cannot do better than quote from a petition to the Queen, dated July, 1899, and signed, be it observed, not by Uitlanders, but by 6336 adult male colonists of Natal (C. 9518, p. 33). The petition referring to fellow-subjects in the Transvaal says ‘that men of British origin, engaged in an industry of vital concern to the prosperity of all South Africa, should labour on sufferance under unjust laws partially administered; that they should contribute nearly the whole of the revenue of the State, and have no voice in its disposal; that while themselves disarmed they should have to watch the fruits of their labour being applied to swell the military strength of the class which holds their liberties and even their lives at its disposal; this is a position repugnant to our sentiments. Moreover, it is a source of unrest, insecurity and injury to business throughout your Majesty’s South African possessions. In all these possessions the rule is absolutely equal rights for the Dutch-speaking and English-speaking populations; in the Transvaal Republic alone

are the latter denied not only equal rights, but political rights altogether. From this contrast springs an intense race-feeling which tends increasingly to divide and embitter all South Africa.'

J. EDWARD GRAHAM.

ART. VIII.—COLOURS IN DANTE.

THE peculiar characteristic of Dante in the Divine Comedy is minuteness of description. At every step down in the Inferno, at every circle we mount in the Purgatoria he tells us exactly what everything is like by comparing it to something on this earth, which he takes for granted his reader knows. This being the case, we may expect to find him exact and particular in his use of terms applying to colour.

In the *Juventus Mundi* Mr. Gladstone has pointed out that Homer's 'perceptions of light not decomposed, light and dark, black and white, are most vivid and effective,' but 'his perceptions of colour considered as light decomposed, though highly poetical, are also very indeterminate,' and as he says later 'range themselves in scale of degrees, rather than of kinds of light.' This is only natural. The development of the colour sense is the result of education, and that not only in the individual but in the race. Even at the present time if an uneducated Londoner were taken into a field of flowers, he would be unable to describe many of them in any but most general terms, if at all, and this despite the fact that he must have been accustomed to look at artificial colours from infancy. In nature for the most part colours are particularly hard to define—so many delicate nuances combine to make up the idea of a single flower—that to describe them accurately would require the trained eye of a worker in mosaic, where the shades which differentiate one tessella from another are so subtle that none without special study can distinguish them.

Homer had no such experience to assist him, and his knowledge of colours must have been confined for the most part to those which he saw in the world of nature, for pictorial art was in its infancy, and only the simplest dyes were known. Moreover, he was more a student of men and their ways than an observer of the phenomena of nature, and consequently avoids any attempt at minute description in the world around him. Dante, on the other hand, studied both.

As Dean Church says,* 'Widely and keenly has he ranged over and searched into the world, with a largeness of mind which disdained not to mark and treasure up along with much unheeded beauty many a characteristic feature in nature, unheeded because so common.' Of this there is no need to multiply instances, and one who has read the first Canto of the *Purgatorio* will recognise at once with how keen an eye he observes the smallest details. To this close study of nature he brought other advantages. Italy was at this time the centre of commerce. To it came coloured stuffs from all parts of the known world, and when he would describe to us Geryon, he speaks of him as painted with more colours 'than ever Turks or Tartars dyed the cloths' (*Inferno*, xvii. 16). Moreover every great family and each political party throughout Italy had its coloured blazon and banner, to which he frequently alludes.

Nor was this all; as yet we have been dealing with single ground colours, but a further consideration of his position will show that he must have been acquainted with the more subtle hues. Painting was just beginning to shake itself free from the trammels of the Byzantine school. Cimabue had done his work, and his place had been taken by his pupil Giotto, by whom Dante was not only reckoned as a friend, but, as we learn from Bondone's life, often consulted with regard to his pictures. This needs no comment. A study of the Virgin and Child in the lower church at Assisi would be enough to convince any one that colouring had reached a high pitch of excellence. Dante must further have been acquainted with painters of another

* Church's *Dante*, p. 80.

type. In the eleventh Canto of the *Purgatorio* he alludes to miniature painters 'whose art in Paris is called illuminating.' He mentions particularly Oderigi D'Agobbio, of whom Vasari says 'he was an excellent miniature painter of those times, with whom Giotto lived on terms of close friendship, and consequently was presumably in like manner a friend of Dante.' Of the knowledge of painters' colours thus acquired we have proof in the passage, where the poet would describe the flowers in the sheltered glade in the Ante-Purgatorio (*Purg.* vii. 73), where he says—'Pure gold, refined silver, cochineal and ceruse white, Indian wood (Indigo) bright and clear, fresh emerald at the moment of its being split, would be surpassed by the flowers and herbage growing in that vale.'

Having thus touched on the sources from which Dante drew his ideas of colour, we may now turn to the actual terms he employs, beginning with those in the *Inferno*. Here his aim throughout is to impress upon us the feeling of darkness and gloom, and therefore he uses in a general way, *oscuro*, *fosco*, *tinto*,† and *nero*. But since it would be impossible to depict a landscape with a uniform absence of light, he makes use of definitive words to give us gradations. The lightest of these is *livido*, an epithet Milton applies to the flames of Hell in *Paradise Lost*. Dante applies it to a rock and to the fen over which Charon presides (*Inferno*, iii. 98, xix. 14), and once more to describe a snake, which he says 'was livid and black like a grain of pepper' (*Inferno*, xxv. 84), where he is evidently thinking of the Italian adder.

The atmosphere when he describes it accurately is *perso*, of

* I have followed Vernon and Longfellow in the rendering of *Indigo* *legno lucido e sereno*. Scartazzini would put a comma at Indigo, and translate *legno lucido e seneno* as a clear brown, but this is immaterial. *Smeraldo* in *L'ora che si fiacca*, as Ruskin remarks, must refer to a cake of green paint, and not to the stone, 'for a fresh emerald is no brighter than one that is not fresh.'

† *Tinto*, lit. dyed, is used to express an absence of any pleasing tone, often merely as an equivalent for absence of colour altogether (i.e., black). — *Inferno* iii. 29, vi. 10, xvi. 104, xvi. 30.

which Tommaseo says, that it is 'a colour mixed of purple * and black, but the black predominates, and thence it takes its name; that is to say the deep violet at the end of the spectrum, with which the invisible rays are beginning to blend. He tells us that the waters of Styx were much darker than *perso* (*Inferno* vii. 103, *buia molto più che persa*), and describes the second step at the door of Purgatory in similar terms (*Purg.* ix. 97). He uses the word once in the *Paradiso* of waters, 'crystalline and undisturbed, but not so deep that their bed should be *perse*,' where the colours would seem to correspond with that which painters call 'lake,' the same colour Schiller would have us think of in his poem of the 'Diver,' when he speaks of the *purpure Finisternis* in the depths of the sea.

There is one more word he uses to describe a dark shade, *bruno*—and a careful consideration of the passages in which it occurs will show that it has two rather different meanings. Tommaseo's definition is, 'Bruno tends to black, obscure is the opposite of clear, and a body can be obscure without being bruno'—a definition about as clear as the colour itself. Ruskin (*Modern Painters*, iii., 240) says:—'In describing a simple twilight—not a Hades twilight but an ordinary fair evening—(*Inf.* ii. 1) he says, the "brown air" took the animals away from their fatigues—the waves under Charon's boat are "brown" (*Inf.* iii. 117)—and Lethe, which is perfectly clear yet dark, as with oblivion, is *bruna bruna*, "brown, exceedingly brown" (*Purg.* xxvii. 31). Now clearly in all these cases no warmth is meant to be mingled in the colour.' Further on Ruskin says, 'the colour signified by Dante is a grave, clear gray.' This in two of the passages which he quotes we may take to be the meaning. The ordinary word in Italian for the coming on of twilight is *Imbrunire*,† to get dark, and Dante

* Tommaseo is using purple in the ordinary sense of the present day, and not in the Dantesque sense. *Porpora* only occurs in *Purg.*, xxix. 131, and is the equivalent of the *purpur roth*, the royal purple, i.e., the Tyrian dye, *φολυξ*, crimson.

† *Imbrunire*: c.f. French *la brune*. Also *Purg.* xix. 6. The Italian for to be in mourning, either black or grey, is *vestito di bruno*.

uses the word in this sense (*Purg.* iv. 21) of a grape getting ripe, and this will be its meaning in the passage in which he speaks of the greater volume (*Par.* xv. 50), *U' non si muta mai bianco nè bruno*, (where no jot or tittle is to be added or taken away from the writing which would alter relative qualities of the dark print and the white margin), as it will be in *Par.* ii. 73, where *bruno* is applied to the dark part of the moon. In none of these passages need we read into the word any yellow, any more than into the English word 'dun' when Milton applies it to the air on the outskirts of Hell. It is used very much as the equivalent of *bigio*,* which he applies to the waters of one of the Infernal rivers (*Inf.* vii. 103). We must not, however, forget that in ordinary parlance *bruno* means brown, nor can there be any doubt that Dante meant it to be used in that sense when he describes white paper burning (*Inf.* xxv. 64):—

'E'en as proceedeth on before the flame
Upward along the paper a brown colour,
Which is not black as yet, and the white dies.'

for half burnt paper is not gray, but brown. So, too, he must have meant it when he applied it to a brown swarm of ants (*Purg.* xxvi. 34). Keeping these two passages in mind we may now turn to the last passage quoted by Ruskin, and if we read the context we shall see that the poet was not looking down into the clear depths of Lethe, but gazing at the surface, which would reflect the colours above it, 'where it runs under the shade perpetual' (*Purg.* xxvii. 32), and this suggests Milton's description of a grove in Earthly Paradise,

'Where the unpierced shade
Imbrowned the noontide bowers.'

Unless we take '*legno lucido e sereno*' (*Purg.* xii. 74) to mean brown, the only other illusion he makes to the colour is in his description of the third face of Satan (*Inf.* xxxiv. 44), and here he does not make use of a single word to express it, but tells us 'it was such to look on as those who came from where the Nile falls into the valley' the colour of the Aethiops, a brown so dark that we generally speak of it as black.

* *Bigio*, gray, probably of a darker hue than *grigio* (*Inf.* vii. 108).
XXXV.

We have now done with the dark tints, and may turn to his treatment of red, the only other colour which he uses, except incidentally in describing the Inferno. The ordinary word in Italian without defining shade, is *rosso*, and this occurs frequently, but is in every instance limited by being applied to blood or flame. Thus the waters of Phlegethon, the river of boiling blood, are spoken of as *rosso* (*Inf.* xiv. 78, 134), and when he is alluding to the great defeat of the Florentines by the Sienese at Monte Aperto (*Inf.* x. 86), he says, *Che fece l'Arbia colorata in rosso*; but the word has not enough human interest in it to move our pity at the fate of Francesca and her lover, whose murder did the world incarnadine and there he uses *sanguigno* (*Inf.* v. 90). In applying *rosso* to fire he means the deepest tint of red to be seen in a flame, that colour Giotto chose to paint the fire in which the magicians' books are being burnt before the Soldan, in his fresco in Sta. Croce. Such was the colour of the damsel on the borders of Lethe, who was so red that she would hardly have been noticed in the fire (*Purg.* xxix. 122). Hereby he would have us think of a deeper tint than the robe in which Beatrice was clad, *color di fiamma viva* (*Purg.* xxx. 33), to which he alludes later as *colorata come fuoco* (*Purg.* xxxiii. 9). The green mantle which in part covers it, shows that he meant her to be clad in the colour in which many of the early masters clothed the Virgin, and this fixes the colour as a brilliant saffron red, which he describes in the *Paradiso* by the one word *robbio* (*Par.* xiv. 27). This does not in any way exhaust the various shades that come from fire; he has studied the phenomena carefully, and wishes to be very exact in his description of it. Matter, he tells us, in the highest state of combustion, emits a white light, for in a simile in the *Paradiso* he speaks of a coal that sends forth flame, and by its vivid whiteness (*vivo candor*, *Par.* xiv. 51), so overpowers it that the distinct shape of the coal remains visible to the eye. So too the molten metal as it flows from the furnace (*Par.* i. 60), would be white hot, and distinguishable from the fiery vapours that issue from it; but gradually as it cools on the surface a more opaque substance comes between the incandescent core within and the eye, and

the colour it assumes is a lurid red. This in Dante is either *roggio* or *rovente*, both of which terms he applies to the glowing city of Dis (*Inf.* ix. 36, xi. 73). So, too, when at the foot of the mount of Purgatory the sun, but lately risen from the sea, and not clear of mists, behind his back *fiammeggiava roggio* (*Purg.* iii. 16). He is of opinion that if a shadow be cast from without on flames, it will have the same effect, as if some opaque substance intervened between them and the person regarding them, for when he stood between the sun and the fire in which the spirits guilty of lust were purified, the flames seem to him to be made thereby *piu rovente*. Both words are used to imply a dusky lurid red, but *roggio* is also applied to clear red light, for when the poet rises into the sphere of Mars (*Par.* xiv. 87), the planet seemed to him 'more ruddy than its wont.' He is speaking of Mars in all its ethereal splendour as seen in heaven, and not the planet as seen from earth, as it sets in mist before the dawn of day (*Purg.* ii. 14), so there can be no idea of murkiness, but a kindly red glow is meant, such as was shed by the sparks that rose from the mysterious river (*Par.* xxx. 66), 'like rubies set in gold.' The commonest word in the *Commedia* for red is *vermiglio*, a mixture of scarlet and crimson. There can be no doubt about the colour, for when he would define the time of year as early summer, he says, 'what time the mulberry became vermillion' (*Purg.* xxix. 148). Vermillion mingled with white is the tint of healthy flesh (*Purg.* xxix. 114), especially of the cheeks. These in England are so often connected with the idea of apple blossoms that one might have expected Dante to have chosen this same combination of colours to describe the blossoms on the mystic apple tree (*Purg.* xxxii. 58), but he says that they 'disclosed a hue less than of the rose but more than violet's.' This at first is puzzling, but he is not thinking of the rich-scented deep-coloured flower that grows in such profusion in the gardens of the Villa Borghesi, but of the delicate gray violet, which with the anemone and cyclamen, stud the coppices on the uplands round San Geminano, and a blending of this with rose gives him, 'as closely as language can carry him,' an exact descrip-

tion of the blossom of the apple.* Unmixed vermillion we find frequently used in the earlier Italian paintings as a suitable colour for demons, and as such Dante selects it for one of the faces of the 'Great Worm' (*Inf.* xxxiv. 39), and it suggests itself to him as fitly representing the bloodshot glare of the eyes of Cerberus (*Inf.* vi. 16).

When yellow is mixed with red two tones of colour are produced, the one pleasing and the other not. If the yellow be ochrous, *ferrigno*, a dull rusty red is the result. This is applied to the rocks of Malebolge (*Inf.* xviii. 2) an idea of colouring, as Ruskin † points out, taken from the loveless ashen grey rocks of the Apennines 'more or less stained by the brown of iron ochre.' If it be a bright clear yellow that mingles with the red, the product is *rancio*, orange of such colour is the gold on the outside of the leaden 'cloaks of the hypocrites' (*Purg.* xxxiii. 100). The pure gold of St. Peter's Key, however, is *giallo*, a term he applies merely to gold or to flowers (*Par.* vi. 100. *Purg.* xxviii. 55, etc.).

As is natural, *verde* occurs frequently in an undefined sense, of leaves, pastures, hills, and of the smalto or enamel, the poor substitute for grass, over which the great spirits of Heathendom move in the Limbo of the Inferno, but in some passages it is more accurately defined. Often in his wanderings through Italy must Dante have surprised the common grass snake, which in the South of Europe assumes a much brighter hue than its cousin in England, and so, in speaking of the snakes with which the furies were girt, he tells us they were *verdissime*, brilliant green (*Inf.* ix. 40), and in the lengthened simile, in which he compares reputation to the grass that perisheth, he speaks of it as *acerba* (*Purg.* xi. 117) when first risen from the ground—a crude green, the equivalent of Shakespeare's 'green sour' which in 'The Tempest' ‡ he applies to the tendrils which the elves make to grow at night. But of all the shades of green there is none which in delicacy approaches the 'sky-tinctured grain' in the garment of the

* Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, iii., 226.

† *Ibid.*, iii. 237.

‡ 'Tempest,' v. 1.

angels who guarded the calm retreat in the Ante-Purgatorio (*Purg.* viii. 28). Longfellow renders the lines thus:—

‘Green as the little leaflets now just born
Their garments were, which by their verdant pinions
Beaten and blown abroad, they trailed behind.’

The other opaque colours need not detain us long. Blue is *azzurro*, and occurs in the description of the purses with crests upon them (*Inferno*, xvii. 59). White is rendered by *candido* and *bianco*, both of which are mostly employed in the sense of Chinese white; and as such are applied to marble, paper, linen, and a rose. Only once does he define the colour more exactly, and then he speaks of a goose that is ‘whiter than butter’ (*Inferno* xvii. 63), a simile which, if drawn from our English experience, might leave us in doubt as to whether he meant to imply any of the gosling colour, but having regard to the creamy butter of Italy can only mean exceeding white. He uses *bianco* twice of silver (*Purg.* ix. 119, Par. v. 57), and reciprocally the metal is used to suggest brilliant white, the obverse of *scialbo*, a deadly hue used but once to describe the flesh tints in his vision of the stammering woman (*Purg.* xix. 9), whereby we may understand that unpleasing tint which Rembrandt used to paint the corpse in his picture of a lesson in anatomy at the Hague. It is somewhat of the same unhealthy complexion that we find in Satan’s second face, *tra bianco e gialla* (*Inferno* xxxiv. 43).

We must now say a few words on light not decomposed. It was said above that Homer’s perceptions of light as such were vivid and effective. This is true; but the scope of his work was not of a kind to bring it into such prominence as in Dante. Descriptions of light and dark in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are only accidental, in the *Divine Comedy* they are essential. The sacred poems ‘to which Heaven and earth have set their hand’ must of necessity deal with the phenomena of light in a way impossible in the Greek Epic. And Dante revelled in light, ‘no poet that we know has shown such a singular sensibility to its various appearances, has shown that he felt it in itself the cause of a distinct and peculiar pleasure, delighting the eye apart from form, as music delights the ear

apart from words, and capable, like music, of definite character, of endless variety and infinite meanings.* The whole poem is written by one who sat in darkness, and had seen a great light. And if we read it through from the moment that we are free from the 'dead air which saddened both eye and breast' when the first note of hope is struck by the pure light of early dawn at the beginning of the *Purgatorio*, till we fall dazed before the beatific vision in the highest heaven, we feel it to describe one great crescendo of light throbbing through sphere on sphere, that works upon our feelings in the same way as the motive with which Haydn introduces the creation of the first day in his oratorio.

This is the general effect, but when we try to deal with his conception of light in the *Paradiso*, we find it very hard. Dante has become transcendental. The literal becomes more and more lost in the allegorical. The Beatrice of the *Vita Nuova* and of the earlier part of the *Commedia*—the Beatrice of his earthly love—changes into the impersonation of Divine Philosophy, who leads him on to the light of true religion as embodied in St. John and in Christ. Thus as we mount from heaven to heaven, the light that is shed around us is no more to be measured by the waves of science—Dante no longer attempts to give us his scientific explanations of it—but treats it in an allegorical and anagogic sense.† He tells us (*Par.* xxx. 37) 'we have issued from the greatest body—the circle of the *Primum Mobile*—into the heaven that is pure light, light intellectual replete with love.'

But yet throughout the *Paradiso* the literal does not entirely die away, and we may try and trace the method by which he would impress upon us the idea of that ever-increasing light. In the first canto he is in the heaven of the moon, the heaven 'that most receives its light' (*Par.* i. 4), as being furthest away from the empyrean, and already he finds that words fail him to tell of the light that his imagination saw. But Beatrice is his guide, and by looking on her face he may become accustomed to the light reflected in it, and so be able to endure the

* Dean Church *Dante*, p. 152.

† Ep. ad-kan Grand, pp. 6-7.

very light itself, even as the men from Plato's cave were to practise their eyes by looking at reflections before they ventured to gaze on the ideal light. Even the glory of Beatrice's face is at times more than he can endure, and when they rise into the heaven of Saturn, Beatrice dare not smile (*Par.* xxi. 7) as she says—

‘ Because my beauty that along the stairs
Of the eternal palace more enkindles,
As thou hast seen the further we ascend,
If it were tempered not, is so resplendent
That all thy mortal power in its effulgence
Would seem a leaflet that the thunder crushes.’

Many a time Dante professes himself too dazzled to behold the light (*ii.* 127, *xxx.* 49, etc), but as he rises from sphere to sphere he goes from strength to strength, and when he reaches the Empyrean can gaze upon the effulgence of St. John (*xxv.* 135), which is so great that Beatrice, who is standing close to him, is as invisible as the flame of a candle held up to the sun. Once more he acquires new power of vision, so that no light was so pure but that his eyes were fortified against it; and with these fresh powers he leads us on to gaze at the vision beatific, wherein the mystery of the Trinity is revealed to him in terms of light (*xxxiii.* 115).

‘ Within the deep and luminous existence
Of the high light appeared to me three circles
Of threefold colour, and of one dimension,
And by the second seemed the first reflected
As Iris is by Iris, and the third
Seemed fire that equally from both was breathed.’

Here we may withdraw our dazzled eyes and let them rest for a while on light more sober, for we cannot turn from Dante, without pausing for a moment on those liquid hues of coloured light he so loves to describe. For these he mostly appeals to the rainbow or to the precious stones. Sapphire and emerald, topaz, ruby, and orient pearl, present to us the colours of the sky or of those bright effulgences he met in the realms above. With his ardent love of nature he could not fail to describe to us the phenomena of the sky, and he paints them in the clear calm hues of Pinturicchio and of Perugino,

nor in his whole work is there to be found any reference to the troubled effects of cloud that Turner painted, except in one brief allusion to the fiery clouds of August when the sun sets (*Purg.* v. 39). This, too, is the only passage which touches on the natural phenomena of sunset. His mind is too occupied with its human interest—rest coming upon all—the inexplicable yearning, and the strange sadness of the dying day (*Inf.* ii. 1, *Purg.* viii. 1, 6),—to paint it for us in colours. When night has come this feeling has departed, and he describes the cold ‘aurora of the moon, with her brow set with gems shimmering white upon the terrace of Purgatory’ (*Purg.* ix. 1), he notes, too, a halo round the moon (*Purg.* xxix. 77), but it is the breaking of day that calls forth his powers of description. First the *dolce color d’oriental zaffiro*, the pale blue untouched as yet by the rays of the sun (*Purg.* i. 13), then the dawn comes and the East is rosy red (*rosata*, *Purg.* xxx. 22), while all the rest of the sky is *di bel sereno adorno*; then the sun touches the horizon, so that the ‘white and vermillion cheeks of dawn through too much age take an orange tint’ (*Purg.* ii. 9), and the flowers bowed down and shut by the chill of night are whitened by the sun and lift up their heads (*Inf.* ii. 127); and lastly, when the sun is fully risen, all the West is turned from (*cilestro*), blue into white (*Purg.* xxvi. 6), the glorious calm of coming day, which she, who had oftentimes watched it over the Italian hills, describes as breaking over Aurora Leigh and her blind cousin Romney.

‘He turned instinctively where, faint and far
 Along the tingling desert of the sky,
 Beyond the circle of the conscious hills,
 Where laid in jasper-stone as clear as glass
 The first foundations of that new, near day
 Which should be builded out of heaven to God,
 He stood a moment with erected brows—
 In silence as a creature might who gaze—
 Stood calm, and fed his blind majestic eye
 Upon the thought of perfect noon: and when
 I saw his soul saw—Jasper first, I said
 The second sapphire; third, chalcedony;
 The rest in order—last, an amethyst.’

J. L. BEVIS.

ART. IX.—THE SONS OF DOM JOHN.

Os Filhos de D. João I. Por J. P. OLIVEIRA MARTINS.
Lisboa. MDCCKCXL.

THE philosophical historian of Portugal, Senhor Oliveira Martins, tells us in his preface to the above book that the periods of history essential to be dwelt upon are those of transition. 'It is my idea,' he says, 'that the art of writing history is to compass a period of transformation.' He also warns us against two errors, considering the accessory as the essential, and measuring all periods with the same standard, without regard to the spirit of the age.

A native historian of the Peninsula is right in insisting upon the avoidance of the last error. No country has lost so much by it as his own, because its deeds of the past have been written in the light of the present, and no country has so much to gain by being presented to us in the light of past centuries; and for this reason a native historian, who is most likely to understand the notions that then prevailed, because most likely to have inherited them traditionally, may be heard although he present that country's events in a light different from that in which they have been described by alien writers.

In 1387, John I. of Portugal, the Master of Aviz, who had made good by the sword his claim to the throne, and to the independence of his country from Castille, married Philippa of Lancaster, daughter of John of Gaunt, as the result of an alliance with that prince, by which on the one side the help of John of Gaunt and his fellow adventurers, Cobham, Cressynham, Blyth, Grantham, Dale, and others, was to be given to the Portuguese claimant; and on the other side the help of the Master of Aviz was to be given, if necessary, to John of Gaunt, in case the latter wanted to assert his claims to the throne of Castille.

Up to that time the Portuguese Court had been in a semi-barbarous state, disordered by the violence alternately of war and of low animal pleasures. 'A positive orgy of that which

is unclean, so unbounded that it offended even the limited modesty of the times; and it was to this condition of things that Philippa, decorous and straight-laced herself, though brought up in the scandalous dwelling of her father, put a stop by introducing the ordinary practices of morality.

She made over a hundred ladies of the Court get married. She held her husband upon thorns: only once after marriage did he commit himself, and that was by kissing a maid of honour, in which his wife caught him in the act. He made the hurried excuse, 'it was for good'—*foi por bem*. The affair got wind, and the courtiers chattered a good deal, so the king had the ceiling of one of the rooms of the palace painted all over with magpies, each holding in its beak a label with the device *por bem*, which the visitor can still see in the Magpie's Hall in the quaint old palace at Cintra. The King, moreover, got quite devout, and employed his leisure hours in translating the *Horas Mariannas*.

'The first two years were barren, but in 1390 the Queen began, with English punctuality, to produce her annual child,' as our author puts it. Four of these were sons, and lived to manhood. Duarte, born in 1391, Peter in 1392, Henry in 1394, and Ferdinand in 1402.

The King took for his motto *Il me plait*, the Queen *Pour bien*, from the magpies; Peter, *Acuit ut penetret*, with a sword brandished by a hand from the clouds; and Henry, *Talent de bien faire*; and all these mottoes came true: the King had done pretty well as he liked, and it had resulted in the independence of his country; his marriage with Philippa turned out all for the best; Peter's sword was sharp for the Moors at Ceuta; and Henry's talent for well-doing laid the foundation for an immense system of geographical discovery and foreign conquest.

The three eldest boys were knighted by John at an international tournament, held in 1411, to celebrate the peace made with Castille. The boys, though, were not satisfied with earning their livelihood at a mere pageant, and longed for something more real wherein to show their skill in the fray, but what enterprise was it to be?

The most natural enemies of the Christian inhabitants of the Peninsula were the Moors of Granada, but they were considered the legitimate prize of Castille, and were soon to be so, so that Portugal could not well meddle with them. The next Moorish kingdom was on the other side of the Straits of Gibraltar, and the first place to be attacked was Ceuta, the capture of which possessed a particular charm for the Peninsular crusader. It had been the place which in 711 afforded the opportunity for the first of the series of the Arab and Berber invaders, usually but not very correctly massed together under the name *Moors*, to pass over to Europe. It was then a Byzantine possession, and its Governor, Count Julian, was at feud with the Visigoth King of Spain, Roderic, on account of injury done by the latter to the daughter of the former; and accordingly Julian opened the gates of the town to the Mahomedans to help them to cross the Straits. Ceuta was thus the place fixed upon for attack.

Henry was foremost in urging the conquest. His mind was an energetic, imaginative, and enterprising one. He had vowed never to marry: he was full of wild enterprise and passionate longing for foreign conquest and exploration. His imagination pictured Ceuta as we might picture New York, in so far as its possibilities of wealth and commerce were concerned. It was for him the key of the East: it opened up the Mediterranean and the North of Africa, and was in consequence a stage on the high road to the strange land in the East where dwelt the Christian emperor, Prester John, who so much excited the imagination of the age.

The place had, though, to be reconnoitred. In those times they did not do things by halves between Moor and Christian; they did it somehow or other: they settled their 'Eastern' (or rather Western) 'question.' The 'bag and baggage' policy they carried out. They bundled *their* Turk out of Europe; but whether for good or for evil, they did things as if they meant them; and the reconnoitring of Ceuta was one way in which they went about them.

An excuse was wanted for a competent man to examine the approaches to the town, and a direct expedition would be sure

to attract the attention and hostility of the Moors, so the device was adopted of sending the Prior of the Knights Hospitallers on a pretended mission to Sicily to negotiate a marriage between the widow of King Martin I. and the Infante Peter; and on the voyage out and home the Prior was to stop at Ceuta and examine it as well as possible. This was accordingly carried out, and one day the King and the Infante assembled in a room of the palace at Cintra to hear the result. The author has his reasons for believing that it must have been in the little room with the tiled bench all round, where nearly two centuries afterwards King Sebastian held the Council in which it was resolved to enter upon the disastrous expedition that ended in his tragic fate at Alcacerquibir, and with it the ruin of his country; so that in this little room were decided the beginning and the end of the magic naval enterprise of the nation. Be that as it may, the King and his sons were all eyes and ears for the report of the crafty Prior.

The Prior dwelt much on the marvellous, and excited their imaginations by the prophetic legends he had picked up anent the fate of Ceuta, dreams and prophecies current among the Moors themselves; but when it came to serious business, he said to the King:—

‘Sir, of what I saw and discovered I can give you no report till you get somebody to bring me two bags of sand, a peck of beans, a skein of ribbon, and a porringer.’

‘Here’s a captain for us with his prophecies,’ said the King, laughing; but the Prior answered seriously—

‘It is not my custom to play the fool with your majesty, but I tell you again that I cannot give you any answer without what I said.’

The King turned to his sons and said, apologetically, in the same tone—

‘See how the answer is got up! I am asking him about things I sent him about, and he talks to me about astronomy and something like magic. Mind what such men are about on these errands.’

But the materials were brought, and the Prior went into another room and stopped there some little while, asking the

King and Infante not to come in till they were admitted, with which request they complied. When all was ready they entered, and very soon saw the meaning of the Prior's strange request:—

He had extemporised a chart upon the floor. The sand was laid over it, and a map of the neighbouring coast was traced upon it. There were the Straits of Gibraltar, the bay of Algeciras, the promontory of Ceuta. The beans indicated the houses in the town, and the ribbon was arranged so as to show the lines of the Moorish fortifications. What was wanting in delineation was supplied verbally, and the Prior duly commented on the beach, the excellent anchorage, and the easy landing that were offered.

Henry looked on with his arms folded, and there can be no reasonable doubt that the sand and beans of the Prior of the Hospitallers first put into his mind the ideas of geography and hydrography that he afterwards developed in his nautical school at Sagres.

The expedition to Ceuta having been resolved upon, preparations went on apace. In accordance with the remains of the feudal ideas of the time, the office of Lord High Admiral was hereditary in the family of the Pessanhas, reverting to the Crown on the failure of heirs. By the terms of their tenure of the office, the Pessanha, for the time being, had to provide twenty Genoese captains, each capable of taking charge of a ship. Forty days sufficed, and Ceuta proved an easy conquest.

The King, with Peter and Henry, accompanied it. Henry was no doubt just in his element, and, as he is the most prominent of all the sons, it will be well to describe him first, though he was not the eldest.

‘He was tall and stout, with large and powerful limbs, with the skin bronzed by sun and wind, thick, black, bristly hair, black and bushy beard. This prince was not handsome, but quite the contrary. The charm of goodness was missing in his physiognomy, and the harshness of his looks was anti-pathetic. He was just the son of his father, in whom might be seen a perfect specimen of the tenacious and energetic,

but with no poetry in it, which understands how to place self-command upon its passion when the object in view requires it in order to be attained; the pure temperament of the Portuguese of the province of Beira, with traces of the energy of the bull. In this kind of man the will is everything; contemplation nothing. When their plan or life is sketched every energy is bent on carrying it out, and the man himself becomes the instrument to further his own design. If John I. had any preference for one like himself, it must be concluded that it was to this son that it would fall.'

Henry's appellation of the 'Navigator' may give a wrong impression of him, by leading to a supposition that he was himself one of the maritime discoverers of his age, and, in so far as this goes, it is incorrect. His actual experience at sea only extended to some four expeditions to Morocco, more military than naval affairs. What he did do, and in doing so it was probably for the best, was to encourage navigation and discovery by assembling together at his model dockyard at Sagres, on Cape St. Vincent, all the knowledge that the world then afforded in the arts of shipbuilding, geography, and allied subjects; and in sending out expeditions judiciously conceived as the most probable of success. Whether native or foreigner, Jew or Gentile, anybody that could tell him anything he wanted was welcome, even the Jew on account of his monopoly of the practice of medicine, which Henry saw must be enlisted in the cause.

His idea, after the capture of Ceuta, was to push on the conquest of the kingdom of Morocco towards the south by land, while the coast was explored in the same direction by sea. The first expedition he sent out came across the island of Porto Santo, adjacent to Madeira. This discovery was unexpected, his plans had lain further east; but the islands in the west afforded more food for thought.

At Ceuta it was probable that he had heard of the wanderings of Shereef Edrisi, when persecuted by a Fatimite Mahdi. These lasted fifteen years, at the end of which time Edrisi was sheltered by King Roger of Sicily, who caused him to arrange all the notes he had taken, which were published. Very

likely Henry had seen a translation of his book, or of those of Masudi and Ibn Said, who said that the world ended in the shadows of a cloudy sea, which was decomposed into vapours and liquid slime on the further side of Nigricia, whither the Arabs went in caravans, taking with them the architects of Granada, who were going on a building errand to Timbuctoo, on the Niger. More recently the Arab geographers of the fourteenth century, Abulfeda and Albyruny, had described the navigation along the West Coast of Africa as far as Bakui in 1403, and Ibn Fatima had described the same coast as far as Arguin. But how did this African continent end? Did it point downwards like a wedge or a fan; was there a passage round its point, or was it a promontory of the lands of the South?

Edrisi related how the Moors of Lisbon had sailed southwards, and got on to the coast of Morocco some three hundred miles north of the Canary Islands, which had been several times visited by ships from the Peninsula in the fourteenth century, and were comparatively well known; these also had seen the Cloudy Sea.

After the return of the expedition to Porto Santo, another was fitted out under Gonçalves Zarco. On reaching Porto Santo they observed on the horizon a thick fog, the apparent result of the presence of land; but some put it down as bordering the island of Cipango, which was mysteriously kept hidden by the favour of God as a retreat for the Christians from the persecution of the Saracens, though to us in the present day it would be difficult to see how, if the Christians could find it through the fog, the Saracens could not do the same. Or perhaps these were the vapours of the Cloudy Sea seen by the Moors of Lisbon. Zarco paid no attention to these superstitions, but sailed straight into the fog: as they entered it they heard a noise as though of breakers upon the shore. The situation was melancholy, and drew forth the fears of the sailors, when all at once a lake of light green water was seen before them, backed by an amphitheatre of sunlit mountains: there was a beach and a bay, and they were on the coast of the island of Madeira.

When in 1428 Peter came back from his travels, he brought Henry the book of Marco Polo, along with maps, on one of which was marked the 'Frontier of Africa' on the south, which contradicted the Arab notions on the subject, and affirmed the existence of a passage eastward; also the works of George Purbach of Vienna; also maps of one Mestre Jaime of Mallorca, a maker of maps and rude astronomical instruments. Mestre Pedro was hydrographer to Henry, and painted his maps with symbols of flora, fauna, and other natural peculiarities, along with pious legendary indications not so strictly practical.

It was in the dockyard at Cape St. Vincent that the caravel was constructed, recommended to Henry by the Venetian, Cadamosto, as the best of vessels; and the discovery of Madeira, with its abundant and excellent wood, which by the way is the name of the island itself (*Madeira wood*), rendered assistance to the shipbuilding plans by furnishing the builders with supplies of the proper material.

The caravels were sixty to a hundred feet long, with a beam of between a third and fourth of their length. They were three masted, and lateen rigged, and easy to work. The nearest modern approach to them is probably to be seen in the handsome fishing vessels at the bank of the Tagus, unloading near the fish market.

The *Tercena*, or *Villa do Infante*, his dockyard, arsenal, or whatever it may be called, lasted some forty years, and fell into neglect after his death in 1460. It was on a lonely spot near where the crows had guarded the body of St. Vincent, which was being carried by a vessel that was shipwrecked there. The dockyard soon became desolate and fell into ruins, but its ideas lived and gave birth to an immense maritime discovery.

Duarte—perhaps it might have been better to say Edward—became king on the death of John. He was about as totally different from Henry as two people can possibly be. His was not the department of war or exploration; he was a toiling, patient bureaucrat, one of these well-meaning individuals who, when highly placed, think they can do everything

with the pen, one of those who reached their highest attainment of perfection—with the additional aid of the maxims of Macchiavelli and the Inquisition—in the person of Philip II. of Spain.

Duarte was, moreover, an author. Letters have not gained much from royal professors of them, from Alfred the Great down to James VI., except the honour of the association; but there was something very perfect, albeit simple and credulous, about the ideas of Duarte that redeem them from the charges of pedantry that can be brought home to the 'most learned fool in Christendom.'

Duarte wrote the *Leal Conselheiro* or *Loyal Counsellor*, a sort of synopsis of things in general and government in particular. Oliveira Martins says of them that he wrote 'as he wrote everything, punctually and methodically. This came from his mother, the Englishwoman. He wrote everything, because his mind, without depth or energy, yet possessed the diffuseness proper to those who are unable to make up their minds. His treatises are a compendium of the thoughts of the age, and may be considered as a diary of his life. One day he drew up rules for governing, re-compiling what he had read in the *De regimine principum*, which was then the political gospel of the age. Another day he would write a dissertation on the rules of horsemanship, re-editing what his father had laid down in an essay upon the subject; now it would be upon domestic economy; now upon what is due to servants; now upon political economy, as to the relative values of bread and corn; then sermons and mysticism; then mineralogical, astronomical, and biological observations, in which was unfolded the curtain of mystery in which science was then hidden; then moral dissertations; then State papers about questions at issue; then demonology, an old terror which was not yet dissipated, but was about to assume in those more modern times a tragic and transcendent character by invading the law through the gate of religion, in proportion as the Church became one with the State in defining the absolute power of princes profoundly Christian.'

The prince was an encyclopædist that ran through all the

notions of the time without possessing any original ones of his own ; but when the amount of his acquisitions is gone through our author justly says that if he had no originality, it must be at least admitted that he had the power to understand.

‘ This is the impression resulting from an examination of the *Loyal Counsellor*, which, if it were provided with dates, would be a complete diary of the sympathetic and melancholy existence of Duarte, a king full of virtues but destitute of qualities, capable of understanding the value and arrangement of things, but incapable of commanding through lack of will and intelligence. Men like Duarte would be perfect if their lot in life, and sometimes their vanity and the consciousness of their own rectitude, did not impose upon them burdens beyond their strength.’

Against melancholy, Duarte thinks that matrimony is the best antidote ; and in harmony with this idea the book is dedicated to his wife.

The *Counsellor* was written entirely by the royal hand. Readers are cautioned to read it slowly and little at a time and with proper dispositions. ‘ It would please me,’ says Duarte, ‘ if readers of this treatise had the manner of the bee, which, passing through the leaves and branches, rests most of all on the flowers, and there draws part of his nourishment.’ Duarte had a modest assurance, the result of the consciousness of virtue, that did not lead him into the weakness of shrinking from observation, or hiding his light under a bushel ; he rightly assigned a high value to intelligence, ‘ because intelligence is our principal virtue.’ In his time science and study were indulged in by the nobility ; the pursuit of knowledge seems to have been rather aristocratic than plebeian, and Duarte evidently preferred that it should remain so, and that it was unadvisable to cast pearls before swine ; he therefore recommends that his essays should ‘ principally belong to men about the court who desire to live virtuously, because to others I do not think it will give much pleasure to read it or hear it.’

The psychology of the *Counsellor* may be considered as superseded by that of Locke and Baiu : but its theology is more remarkable, and throws a light on a now much-vexed

question, the study of the Bible in purely Catholic times. It recommends that the Gospels be read slowly like other books in order to understand them well. 'Do not read much at a time, but much less than you could; so that if you could read twenty-four pages read only six . . . when there is something you do not understand do not let it detain you long because there is no mind that understands theology quite perfectly . . . and even on things you do not understand do not question much, because I certainly know that there are things that few know.' This was well before the Reformation, and the Catholic authorities had not become so timid in placing the Bible in the hands of the public as they afterwards became when they perceived what they considered the ill effects of it.

The social ideas of the *Counsellor* are worthy of note. Society is not based upon individual rights as absolute or ultimate property; but on a collective right under the guidance of Christianity, a sort of greatest happiness of the greatest number, only to be found in the Christian religion—in fact, a theocracy, which attained its most repulsive perfection under Philip II. of Spain, and its feeblest, according to Senhor Oliveira Martins, under John IV. of Portugal about the middle of the seventeenth century, in 'a people extinguished for the sake of carrying out a religious mission.' The social body rests on the farmers and fishermen who form the base of it, so that the whole commonwealth may rest on a good foundation; then there rise up the instruments side by side; on one side the officers, judges, counsellors, scribes, etc.; on another side those who carry on approved arts and professions, physicians, surgeons, musicians, goldsmiths, etc.; then above these those that defend the country, the military forces with their officers; while at the very top as the head or crown are those who pray to God for all the others, who teach by word and example and administer the sacraments—to wit, the clergy.

The real value of the *Leal Conselheiro* is a philological one. Senhor Oliveira Martins considers it invaluable as a standard one in the history of the Portuguese language. There is certainly traceable in it a confirmation of that which may have

already been suspected—namely, that besides being a separate Romance dialect that had grown up side by side with the Castilian but was not derived from it, it had been undoubtedly subjected at one time or other to some French influence. In it there are unmistakeable Gallicisms. May it not have been that they were introduced into the language by the Burgundian or Frankish Henry, to whom three centuries before the country of Portugal was given by the King of Leon; and to speculate still further in the same direction, may not he and his court have introduced into Portuguese those nasal and Frenchified sounds that are so observable by the foreigner?

The principal legislation of Duarte on attaining the throne consisted in a number of alterations in the rules applicable to the Jews. Our author calls them 'reforms,' and viewed from the standpoint of the age, they very likely were so, though to our own eyes they cannot be entitled to so liberal an appellation. They consisted in endeavours to perfect the isolation of the Jew. The fundamental notion of the times with regard to him was one of keeping him apart from the Christian by allowing him to contract as few relations as possible. Let us see what position the Jew held in Portugal about the year 1400.

The importance of the Jewish communities had been always great in the Peninsula; great also was the prejudice against them; they had been the instigators of the murder of the Founder of Christianity; they had opened the gates of the country to the Arab and Berber invaders (in order to liberate themselves from the persecutions of the Visigoth Kings); they were also rich. In Portugal their influence was extremely important; and the number of their *communes* or *Jewries* very great.

The early Burgundian dynasty of Kings had encouraged the immigration of Jews for the purpose of cultivating the lands obtained by the successive advances of the Christians into Mahommedan territory; and, as each successive colony was acquired, fresh levies of Jews rolled into Portugal from Spain, where they were subject to persecution and massacre at the hands of a benighted and prejudiced people. They attained high position at the court of the Kings. Guedalha

Aben-Juda, chief rabbi under King Denis, was also treasurer to that monarch. Mosseh, a fugitive from the massacre of Navare in 1328, was ennobled by Peter I., and took the name of his province, and became the ancestor of the line of the Navarros. Mosseh Navarro was treasurer to Peter, and his son Juda Aben-Mosseh fulfilled the same office under the King's son.

The establishment of the house of Aviz on the throne of Portugal was not unfavourable to the Jews; persecuted in Castille, they naturally found in Portugal a decided welcome on the part of the new government whose side they had taken. Perhaps in recompense for this John I. gave them official sanction, giving force in the civil law to the two bulls of Clement VI. (1347) and Boniface IX. (1389), in which these popes ordered princes to respect the beliefs and immunities of the Jews and not to force baptism on them, because 'it is not to be presumed,' said the first, 'that he has the true faith of a Christian who has the faith of Christians against his will.'

The numerous Jewish communes were governed by the chief rabbi or *arraby-môr* at Lisbon, who was attached to the court of the King and also possessed his own Keeper of the seal, who might or might not be a Jew. He had under him eight *ouvidores* or Jewish magistrates, one learned in the law (attached to his own person at Lisbon), and the other seven in the other chief towns with territorial jurisdictions very nearly coincident with the provinces of the kingdom. There were also communal courts for the trial of all cases between Jew and Jew; and to appeal in such cases to the civil law of the land was a serious offence punishable with a heavy fine and with imprisonment at the discretion of the *arraby-môr*.

This was the principal feature in the long-established organisation of the Jewish community that was confirmed by John I. in practical ratification of the Bull of 1389, to which he gave effect.

The Jews had various taxes to pay according to age, property, and transactions. No profession was forbidden to them save one—namely, traffic in the precious metals. Filing and

debasement coin appear to have been offences of frequent and probable occurrence. 'If we consider the passion of the Jew, the confusion of the monetary systems of the time, the general ignorance, the imperfection of the coinages, and lastly the coolness with which governments, when the occasion seemed to require it, had recourse to the same expedient of debasing or even falsifying the money,' says the author, 'the crimes of filing and clipping, and perhaps coining bad money, must have been frequent.'

Peter formed an entire contrast to each of his two elder brothers, and yet partook of the character of both. He was the scholar and traveller of the family, the courtly, polished, knight-errant, in search of adventure, equally at home with the sword and the pen. He did not possess the heavy, dreamy, scowling, determined character of Henry, but yet was like him in his bravery in the field; and he had not the quiet, laborious, bureaucratic ways of Duarte, but yet was like him in his love of learning. 'Peter was a contemplative man, chivalrous, benignant, prudent, wise. He was fair-haired; he had in his veins the blood of his mother, and the preponderance of it was exhibited in his countenance.' To be chivalrous and to be fair seem, by the way, to be parts of the regular stock-in-trade of an ideal hero or heroine in Portugal. Chivalry, the Round Table, etc., meet you at every turn in its books; the heroine of a modern novel is fair. Peter travelled with twelve companions; the chronicler of his travels says they were in imitation of the number of the apostles of Christ; but this we are told in the book under review, was a regular institution in chivalry from the time of Charlemagne; and no better authorities upon the subject can be found than in the Peninsula, where it has not even yet been quite shattered by Cervantes.

The first visit of Peter was to Sigismund, King of Hungary. Hungary was no doubt then a most attractive place for one who had drawn his sword against the Mahomedan. It was the outpost against the Mohammedan of Eastern Europe, and its era was critical, Sigismund having ascended the throne in 1412, the year of the Turkish victory of Semendria, which

opened the way for fresh expansion of the Mahomedan power. Sigismund, who was also at war with the Hussites, received Peter with open arms and took him along with him in his campaigns, in which though, the contests were usually only on an insignificant scale.

From Hungary Peter set out on a journey to the Holy Land. On the way he called at Cyprus, and at Nicosia met the queen in distress, because her husband was a captive in Egypt. He was of course a Lusignan, Cyprus having been given by Richard the Lion-heart to the Lusignans, when he captured it from the Arabs. 'Friend, of what descent do you come?' asked the sorrowing queen. When the Infante said who he was and whence he came, the sad lady gave utterance to the melancholy sentiment—'Would to God that the provinces of Spain were closer to our domain and that we could help one another, and then the enemies of the faith would be less powerful.' It was true! If the races of the Peninsula had been there, the 'enemies of the faith' would have had very little to say for themselves. It is the greatest historical pity that they were not in the east instead of the west of Europe, that they were not placed so as to drive out of it the destructive Turk instead of the constructive Arab; we may therefore excuse Senhor Oliveira Martins' observation on the campaign of Sigismund and Peter against the Hussites—'The war against the Hussites finally ended in 1433, long after the departure of the Infante. That against the Turks is going on still, and will go on till there is extirpated the last trace of its barbarous history from out of the civilised world.'

From Cyprus Peter went to the court of Sultan Amurath II., then at Patras. He was probably provided at Venice with a safe conduct and letters of introduction, allowing him to go into the interior of the Sultan's dominions. The travellers did not immediately penetrate into the Sultan's territory, but went to Constantinople. That city was then in the last stage of decline; it had not long to live as the capital of Eastern Christendom; its then territory was most insignificant in comparison to what it had been. Constantinople, however, lived in a fool's paradise; it never was merrier

or enjoyed itself so much as in its last decay. It felt quite secure within the triple lines of fortification, that defended it against—whom, the Turks? No, not against the Turks, but against the Christian Knights of St. John of Jerusalem at Rhodes. These were the ones it most apprehended—not the common enemies of civilisation, but those who took upon themselves to oppose them. ‘Save us from our friends’ might have been the motto of the later of the Byzantine emperors. ‘In Rhodes, as in Cyprus, as in Syria, the movement of the Crusades left little nuclei of nations formed by the nations of the North, which would have grown up out of the fragments of the Byzantine Empire if the Turks had not come in their place and successively destroyed these ephemeral neo-feudal states.’

We have no time to follow Peter over the rest of his wanderings—to the Holy Land, the monastery of Mount Sinai, and to Egypt. After leaving Egypt, he went on a visit to his old friend and comrade in arms, whom he had met at the Court of Sigismund, Eric I., who had succeeded to the short-lived Scandinavian empire, consisting of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, united in the person of his predecessor Margaret.

He then came to England, then under Henry VI., where he and one of his companions, Alvaro Vaz, received the Order of the Garter.

Even less time than to follow him in his wanderings have we to follow the book in its account of the events leading up to Peter's tragic death, which he met in his own country on the field of Alfarrobeira during a civil contest between himself as regent and his ward, Alfonso V.

Nor have we time to go over the misfortunes of poor Ferdinand. Successive expeditions to Tangier were undertaken with ultimate success, but the first one turned out a disastrous failure. The Portuguese were completely surrounded by the Moors, and many were taken prisoners. Hostages were demanded for the cession of Ceuta, and Ferdinand died in captivity and hardship. After his death his body was exposed feet upwards, and was then enclosed in lead, and fastened to the wall at the spot where it had been exposed; but thirty

years afterwards, after the capture of Arzilla by Alfonso V., the bones of Ferdinand were taken away to rest in their native land.

In this family of brothers we cannot help feeling that we are in good company; they certainly mark a period of advance, and the author's able description of them goes far to justify his theory that history essentially consists in the description of periods of transition. Henry will, of course, remain the central figure, not only among his own brothers, but among a far wider circle. His countrymen are justly proud of him; his is almost the first figure one sees on landing at the 'Black Horse Square' at Lisbon. If one stands behind the equestrian statue, and looks to the archway forming the entrance to the Rua Augusta, one sees above and to the left a relief of the portly figure of Henry, and to the right one of the Marquess of Pombal, the reconstructor of Lisbon after the earthquake three centuries later. Above them both is an inscription written in the time of the latter, with reference to that of the former:

VIRTUTIBUS MAJORUM
UT SIT OMNIBUS DOCUMENTO.

C. J. WILLDEY.

ART X.—THE SECOND CHAPTER OF THE WAR.

THE writer who at quarterly intervals reviews the progress of a contemporaneous war, cannot, like the contributor to a daily paper, travel unperceived from pole to pole of opinion. War is too full of surprises to permit a chasm of thirteen eventful weeks to be bridged by a few euphonious sentences; hence it may easily happen that the self-appointed oracle must needs either persist in obvious error, or abandon the pretence of consistency, and confess himself a fallible mortal after all. Such being the case, I am glad to find that I am not called upon to apologise for any of my statements of fact or theory, in the last

number of this *Review*; all having been borne out by the official reports and by the course of events in South Africa.*

Since the middle of January much light has been thrown upon the first phase of the war, and upon the period immediately preceding it, and several perplexing matters have been cleared up, to the credit of our generals in South Africa. We now know the truth about Ladysmith and Glencoe, and have been told how Sir George White, though given *an absolute discretion*, as Mr. Balfour has said, was threatened with *grave political consequences* if he abandoned Dundee, and, *a fortiori*, by graver consequences still, if he retired south of the Tugela, which, however, it seems he never thought of doing. We have not been as categorically informed that Sir Redvers Buller was likewise advised how to exercise his discretionary powers, but it is abundantly clear that he was not alone responsible for the break up of his army, in the attempt to relieve Kimberley and Ladysmith simultaneously.

The exact reasons for the choice of Ladysmith, in the first instance, as a military centre, have not as yet been made public, but we know this much, that the selection was made early in 1897, in which year three field batteries were sent from England as the nucleus of the future garrison. A survey was made of the neighbourhood, and the camp was deliberately decided upon for a *point d'appui* of the forces in Natal. This step was, as a matter of course, approved by the *military advisers* of the Government, that is to say, the Commander-in-Chief in England, assisted by the Colonial Defence Committee, the Intelligence Branch, and many other military departments, which constitute the aggregate known to the public as the War Office, or, more vaguely, the War Department. Now Ladysmith, as we have reason to remember, though situated in fairly open ground, is within a few miles of a number of hills from which it can be effectively shelled by long range guns of modern type; we are, therefore, free to assume that in making it the main military

* There is a small typographic error in the Table on p. 156, where the total strength of the Boer forces should read 60,000, not 50,000, as will be seen by addition of the details.

position in Natal, this contingency was well considered and dismissed as out of the question.

An attempt has been made, in certain quarters, to lay the blame of incorrect information and insufficient preparation upon the General Officers commanding in Natal and at the Cape, prior to the war, but no one acquainted with our military system could possibly make this mistake. The General of a district abroad is responsible for the state of his command, both men and material of war, but he may by no means question its sufficiency in numbers or armaments. It is his duty annually to revise the Local Defence Scheme and send it to England for approval, but in so doing he must strictly conform to the fundamental decisions of the year before, and when it has been returned to him, must obediently accept the amendments introduced, no matter how untoward he may happen to think them. No officer in the Colonies, whatever may be his rank, is allowed to stray into mixed questions of state policy and military preparations. As to setting up a secret intelligence bureau of his own, in view of hypothetical hostilities, the bare suggestion would be so serious an indiscretion, that his recall would be the inevitable consequence. It is to be regretted, perhaps, that these matters were thought worthy of debate in Parliament, but, having been so, it is a pity they were not dealt with more frankly. The nation is, in the main, broad-minded, and would have readily accepted a simple explanation on the lines of Lord Salisbury's speech in the House of Lords on the 31st January. As it is, the laboured apologies in the other House provoked criticism, because in the attempt to shield high placed officials in London, they suffered a shadow to rest on the reputation of deserving officers elsewhere. I pass on to more important matters.

Lord Roberts on his arrival at Cape Town, at once set about the business of creating an army suitable for South Africa. His first step in this direction was to amalgamate the various volunteer contingents, home and colonial, with the larger units of the regular army, so that all might be working parts of one effective machine, and, in so doing, he took care to study the peculiar aptitudes of each, and to give to every one some distinctive and honourable task. In particular, the most strenuous efforts were

made to increase the strength and efficiency of the mounted infantry, regular and irregular. Of the latter, two new corps were formed out of local materials, and named after Lords Roberts and Kitchener respectively. A number of mounted volunteers in the Eastern Province were at the same time brigaded, and placed under the command of a representative Colonial of English birth, named Brabant, formerly an army officer.

By these and similar means a field force was got together, having mobile elements sufficient to arrest the movements of the Boer horsemen, and a solid backbone of fighting strength such as the loosely knit commandoes could scarcely withstand.

But no army, however composed, can be truly mobile unless its supplies can follow it in any direction desirable for strategic or tactical reasons; it became, therefore, imperative to organise a system of land transport to supplement the railway service, and thus give a certain freedom to the lines of march. The task was herculean; probably no two other men in the world but Roberts and Kitchener could have completed it as they did, in a single month, and its accomplishment took the Boers by surprise, and utterly confounded their projects.

While the army was being built up, and its transport accumulating, a heavy responsibility had to be borne by Lord Roberts, as well as by the High Commissioner. An incipient disaffection was spreading among all classes of Dutch in Cape Colony, while in the northern districts rebellion was daily increasing. The siege of Kimberley had reached a serious stage, for food was becoming scarce. At Ladysmith the sands were fast running out, and at Mafeking the end might be expected at any moment. From every quarter came pathetic appeals for assistance, and every appeal had to be rejected in the stern resolve to concentrate the British forces at all costs.

The Field-Marshal had fortunately a really free hand, and his wonderful reputation restrained the impatience of the public, when day after day went by without a word of comfort or explanation in the cable messages.

Among the many anxieties of the period, not the least perhaps was the maintenance of a judicious attitude towards the natives

living under British rule. At the beginning of the war there was a tacit understanding that none but white men were to fight. It was a limitation peculiarly favourable to the Boers, who had no natives of their own, and everything to fear from the tribes upon their borders; yet hostilities had scarcely commenced before they set themselves to evade the stipulation, first by an active propaganda among the Basutos, urging them to rise against the British authority, then by a series of exasperating raids upon Zululand, Rhodesia and Khama's country, attended by wholesale robbery and violence. If the natives attempted to resist, as they did in the west, they were shot down; if, like the Zulus, they suffered in sullen silence, they were taunted by the inquiry—what was to become of them, when their masters had been driven into the sea. The crisis was acute. These warlike nations were hard to curb; for they naturally asked, why, if the Queen's soldiers were unable to protect them, should they be forbidden to arm in their own defence. With native races, war is so entirely a joy and a pastime, that if not allowed to fight on the side they favour, it is not unlikely they may take service on the other, rather than not fight at all. Many persons therefore recommended the employment of a limited number of disciplined natives within the districts over-run by the Boers, and possibly elsewhere.

From a purely military standpoint, the opportunity which the enemy then gave us should have been turned to account. A strong diversion by Zulus on the Boer communications in Natal would have raised the siege of Ladysmith in December; an attack upon the Free State by Basutos would have quickly drawn away the invaders of Cape Colony. Nothing could have been easier to bring about; for the paramount Chiefs were urgent in their offers of assistance, hoping thereby for recognition as military vassals of the Crown.

There were, however, two insuperable objections to the employment of armed natives. One was the danger of their getting out of hand, and committing the atrocities of barbarous warfare; the other, more serious still, was a knowledge of the shock which would have been given to every section of South African society,

by the sight of uncivilized blacks and English soldiers, shoulder to shoulder, in war against a white race.

To understand the importance of this feeling, it is necessary to have some knowledge of what is called the *native question*.

There are two aspects of the subject, the sentimental and the economic. As to the first, there is the unalterable resolution of the white man never to admit equality with the black. This is no product of passing prejudice, but the passionate expression of a deep seated repugnance to contact with a lower species. It is the stirring of a primary instinct, the means perhaps by which Nature preserves the continuity of the higher races. Englishmen fresh from home do not as a rule share this antipathy, but it is a living principle wherever the European is long in close proximity to the African; as for example in America, where the faintest shade of colour is recognised as a barrier, impassable except for opposite reasons, by the most exalted and the most debased of the community.

The economic side of the question is, on the other hand, strictly local. It is the outcome of the industrial conditions of South Africa, which are peculiar, in that, although the colonisation of the country is permanent, and there is no physical bar to white labour, there is not, and never will be, a labouring class among the European settlers. English loafers and Dutch bawaaners may now and then do *Kaffir work*, but the bona-fide labourer of South Africa is either Asiatic or native.

The Asiatic is industrious and intelligent, but unfortunately too reluctant to go away when his period of indenture has expired. If let alone, he sets up as a trader, ousts his European rival, grows rich, and at last claims a Parliamentary vote; which thing is an abomination to the Dutch and the English alike. Asiatic labour is therefore hedged about by Colonial laws and customs, and employers are referred to the African races for their hewers of wood and drawers of water. But the African native has no stomach for regular work—he will take on for a time as a labourer, but will stay only as long as it suits his whim or that of his chief; hence a labour difficulty from the Zambesi to Cape point.

Now the Dutch and the English settlers, though they have the same objects in view, differ somewhat as to methods.

The older Dutch honestly believed the blacks to be the descendants of Cain, and thought it very right to utterly destroy the heathen whenever land was needed ; reserving a remnant of the people as bond-servants under the discipline of the sjambok. Of late years, however, the influence of Scotch and American Presbyterians, with whom the Dutch Church is in sympathy, has modified current opinion, and slavery is no longer defended, but a system of compulsory labour, and of social subjection enforced by law, is freely advocated by the vast majority of those who speak the Taal.

The Anglo-Colonial ideas on the subject are less pronounced and more strictly utilitarian. The average colonial is sceptical of the success of missionary enterprise, and dislikes the Aborigenes Protection Society, but, in theory at any rate, he is opposed to any injustice to natives. All he insists upon is a continuous supply of land and labour, and good openings for business. Rarely a deep thinker, he is disposed to support without much enquiry the local politicians, whose cry is 'Freedom of Contract' and 'No restrictions upon Trade.'

But free contract between white and black can have but one ending, viz., the break-up of the tribal system, and the acquisition by disreputable adventurers of every rood of land worth having.

Again 'No restriction upon Trade,' simply means the rapid degradation, and ultimate extermination, of the African races by the contamination of European vices ; especially *drink*, which is to the native more deadly than either war or pestilence.

Fortunately for the aborigenes, there is a third view of the question ; that taken by the Imperial Government in common with the best representatives of Colonial Society, who maintain that it is the duty of the State to protect the native 'in loco parentis' even against his own weaknesses. It is in accordance with this ideal that the majority of the native territories have been retained under the direct government of Crown Officials, who recognize no bogus concessions, give a cold shoulder to the itinerant prospector, and prohibit altogether the traffic in liquor. Thus administered, the paternal system gives security and

contentment to the tribes concerned, but unfortunately it conflicts with the interests of the middle class 'progressive.' From this springs a perennial agitation for the transfer of native affairs to local governments, with a view to the *opening up* of the country; also a periodical outcry against the Imperial authorities, whenever there is a lull in the rivalry of the two white races.

In the halcyon days of the Kimberley Exhibition, when Mr. Cecil Rhodes was leader of the Africander Bond and of the Anglo-Colonials, in a solid alliance, the shibboleth of the party was: 'No Imperial interference.' At that time the cry, 'South Africa for the South Africans,' was often in the mouths of public men, and there were not wanting those who foretold an African federation on the narrow basis of local interests. The alliance fell to pieces in 1895-6, when men awoke to the reality that, while the Colonials were playing at making Downing Street 'sit up,' the Bond was laying the foundation of an African Republic, from which the Anglo-Saxon element was to be eventually eliminated. The Johannesburg Reform movement, followed by the Jameson Raid, brought home at last to both sides that 'blood was thicker than water;' but while the Rhodes coalition held together, it did so by the adhesive power of the '*native question*.'

Thus it will be seen why, for political reasons, it was necessary to throw away the immense military advantages we possessed in the loyalty of our native subjects, who would have felt it a privilege to do battle for the great Queen; also why, on similar grounds, it was thought prudent to forego the services of our splendid Indian Army, although in 1801 we did not hesitate to employ it, under Sir David Baird, against the French in Egypt.

I spoke just now of paramount chiefs. Among them are several who, whether they play any prominent part in the present war or not, we are certain to hear of, sooner or later, when it is over.

To begin with, there is Khama, whose territory is bounded on the north by Rhodesia, and on the east by the Transvaal. He is an elderly gentleman, with a shrewd but not disagreeable face. Dressed as he was when he last visited Capetown, one might have taken him for a well-to-do Mexican—always provided he kept

his hat on. Khama has no great love for the Boers, but is discreetly silent on the subject. He is a Christian and an excellent ruler, which ought to be in his favour, one would suppose; but he is a strict teetotaler, and will not allow a liquor bar within his dominions; consequently he is rather unpopular in South Africa.

Next comes Dinizula, the son of our old enemy the Zulu King Ketchwayo (my spelling of native words is phonetic). He and his two uncles, one of whom commanded at Isandluwana, have only recently returned to Zululand from exile at St. Helena, where, except for the monotony of it, they were pretty comfortable. Dinizula, who is hardly darker than a Levantine, adopted the dress and customs of the English as long as he was a state prisoner, and regularly attended the Governor's garden parties and other entertainments of the island society. His manners are always perfect, but he is somewhat reserved. All the same he understands a joke, and quite appreciated the humour of being invited, in all good faith, to the *nigger performances* of the soldiers and sailors at Jamestown.

Dinizulu is now growing fat, and since he has resumed the native dress, or shall we say *undress*, looks wonderfully like his father. He can scarcely be expected to be enthusiastically loyal, for his country was given over to Natal in 1893, but he and his Zulus may be quite depended upon, as long as the choice lies between Boer and Briton.

Last, but by no means least, is Lerothodi, the Basuto. A man of fine presence, and serious honest countenance, he is *par excellence* the friend of the English, for he has never forgotten how the Imperial Government stepped in between his countrymen and the filibustering Free Staters. But Lerothodi is discriminating in his friendship, and few who heard it will ever forget the significant speech he made a year or two back, when the guest of Government at Cape Town. Addressing a select assembly in the house of the acting High Commissioner, he first returned thanks for the kind reception he had met with, then turning to the chiefs who were with him, and in particular naming one whose loyalty was doubtful, he bade them in eloquent language ever remember that they were subjects of the Queen,

to whom he solemnly vowed unalterable fidelity. But he said :— 'Recollect we owe nothing to any Volksraad, nor to any Colonial Parliament, and desire to have no dealings with them.' Long may his wish be gratified.

I might say something about other native chiefs, such as Seckow the Pondo, and Linchwe, and Bathven, but they are of much less importance, and I must put a limit to digressions, however tempting.

Resuming the thread of the military operations, it is worth while to consider the situation as we may reasonably believe it was viewed from Pretoria, so as to get a better appreciation of what was being done by the enemy.

Going back a little upon the story of the war, it became evident, early in November, that the original programme for the conquest of the two Colonies by surprise must be abandoned; and directly Sir Redvers Buller had landed, the Boers adopted a plan of campaign based upon a policy of delay. Remembering the methods by which Holland had so well maintained her independence in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Generals were directed to concentrate their efforts upon a prolonged defence, which should give opportunities for the ripening of European jealousies, and of an anti-war spirit in England. The immediate endeavour was to bring about a postponement of the invasion of the Free State; therefore it must have been a joyful moment when the news arrived that Buller was going to Natal, and Methuen had set out on a fool's errand to Kimberley. Neither of them, it was well known, had sufficient transport to travel by any other routes than the railways afforded, nor strength even to hold these securely during tactical operations to a flank; consequently the problem of obstruction was greatly simplified for the Federal Commandants, who had nothing to do but retire slowly from one defensive position to another, astride the Natal and Cape railways, and apply their arts to the preparation of successive traps for the *rootneks*, without the least anxiety for their own flanks or lines of communication.

Simple as were these tactics, they answered admirably, and culminated in a complete check to the British at Magersfontein, Stormberg, and Colenso; after which it was certain there could

be no immediate renewal of their activity, on either side the theatre of war.

Putting aside early disappointments, everything was now satisfactory. Cronje lost no time in making a semi-circle of entrenchments, with ends resting on the Modder River, above and below the bridge held by Lord Methuen. On the Tugela, a judicious use of the spade gradually converted positions naturally strong, into an impregnable chain of fortifications, shutting off the river altogether from the great circle of investment at Ladysmith. As these labours approached completion, it became possible to reduce the numbers which were at first needed to neutralise—in military jargon, *contain*—the two relieving armies, so that before long there was a margin of strength at both places available for application elsewhere. The inter-communication between the forces, through the passes of Northern Natal, made it easy to transfer troops with secrecy from one command to another, and in this way even the heavy guns were shifted to and fro, between Ladysmith and Kimberley, whenever the balance of artillery power required re-adjustment. In point of fact, while the British had two independent armies separated by a sea voyage and a very unsafe journey by land, there was unity of command on the side of the Boers. Their commandoes appeared to be scattered at random, but in reality all were in perfect touch, and constituted one grand army. The headquarters and main base was at Pretoria, from which place the President issued his orders as military dictator. The centre rested on the Orange River; the right wing was at Kimberley; the left in Natal. A detachment invested Mafeking, and covered the Capital on the west, while various outposts watched the frontiers, and supplied the parties for cattle-lifting raids.

The Battle of Colenso, December 15th, marked a crisis in the affairs of the Boers, as well as of the English, for the remainder of the month was pregnant with opportunity. Lord Roberts could not arrive till the second week in January, and the whole course of the war depended upon what the interval should bring forth.

There is no doubt that a great prize was then within reach of

the Boers, and that they knew it, but with the extreme caution of their race they hesitated.

If fifteen thousand additional men had been sent across the Orange River at Norvall's Pont * on or about the 20th December, a crushing blow might have fallen upon the British. Naauwpoort would probably have been taken, and the entire connection with Port Elizabeth and East London cut off. Gatacre must then have retired to Queenstown, or even further east. French, if not cut off in the Colesberg district, could only have retreated upon De Aar, to which place Methuen would have been obliged to return by forced marches, harrassed by Cronje's horsemen for many a mile. De Aar would no doubt have been saved, but its only line of communications would soon have been crossed by the rebel Dutch of the Carnarvon district, who were then only waiting for a signal to rise. These successes would have been temporary only so far as De Aar was concerned, but the capture of Naauwpoort, with Stormberg and Dordrecht already occupied, would have given the Boers possession of a great quadrilateral in the Stormbergen range, enveloping the connecting railway of the Eastern systems, and securing a double line of retreat to the Orange River.

Nor would this have been all, for, Methuen having retreated, Lord Roberts, on his arrival, would have found no railway beyond the Orange River open for operations towards either Kimberley or Bloemfontein.

I have ascribed the hesitation of the Boers at this juncture to their natural character, but something may have been due to the absence of General Piet Joubert, who had been withdrawn for a time from his command owing to illness, or some reason unexplained. Cronje, the next in seniority, was summoned from Kimberley for advice, but Cronje had neither the talent nor the influence of the great Commandant General. What opinion he may have given will probably never be known, but it was at length determined to wait for the fall of Ladysmith before carrying out the *coup* in Cape Colony, because it was argued,

* For most of the references to places in this article, Bacon's Birds' Eye Map of South Africa will be found sufficient.

no doubt, the surrender of Sir George White besides having far-reaching political consequences, would set free the investing force at Ladysmith, and make it of small consequence though Buller in the end were to compel the retreat of the army on the Tugela. These were all excellent reasons if only the premises had been sound; but we know they were not.

And now that so much depended on the success of the siege, every effort was made to expedite its conclusion; but, in spite of bombardment by day and by night, the garrison of Ladysmith still held out, and meanwhile the weeks slipped by remorselessly.

At Christmas there was merriment among the burghers, and plum puddings were fired into the British Camp by way of good-humoured hostilities. New Year's Day, however, came and went, and yet no surrender; then men looked graver, for Lord Roberts was expected directly, and Sir Charles Warren's Division was assembling south of the river, sure sign of new attempts at relief. At length, even the most phlegmatic of the Boers felt that no more time could be lost. A supreme effort was required—Ladysmith must be captured by assault. They were quite right; no time *was* to be lost. It was a desperate measure, but worth a trial. The English were enfeebled by hunger and decimated by sickness; the chain of defence spread over ten miles, and there were not above eight thousand available troops to hold it. Ten thousand resolute men might rush the place in the mist of the early morning; then a brief carnage, and all would be over.

But the Boers were not the men for the occasion. The Boer is stolidly brave when face to face with death in a narrow path, but his prosaic soul can never rise to the fierce exaltation of those who will run out to meet him with a triumphal shout.

So the storming of Ladysmith was duly attempted, January 6th, but instead of being the concentrated assault it should have been, it was carried out on the lines of a general action. There was stubborn fighting, now here, now there; positions were taken, and retaken; individuals did wonders. It was a Homeric battle, and lasted all through a summer day; but at length the Boers retired under cover of darkness. They had played their trump card, and they had lost. Next day they

buried their dead and went about the siege as usual, but henceforward Naauwpoort was as safe as Southampton. A great opportunity had come, and was gone.

Ladysmith was still in British hands, but it was a close fight, and one can imagine with what feelings the message, 'Am hard pressed,' was received at Chieveley just as the light failed on that ever memorable afternoon. Sir Redvers Buller had done all that was possible throughout the day to co-operate with the defence, but who could say what the end had been, as night closed in and the roar of battle died away into silence. At daybreak, Sir George White and the remnant of his army might be already on their way to the prisoners' laager at Waterfalls, and ten thousand Boers on trek through Van Reenan's Pass, while fifteen thousand remained behind to laugh at British stupidity, till it suited them to retire with the fifty guns and ten thousand rifles they had taken. And then—and then—but I need not dwell upon an ugly dream.

After the 6th January, all idea of obtaining possession of Ladysmith other than by famine was given up, and the Boers settled down to simple tactics of delay. A few men and some guns seemed to have been sent about this time to Colesberg from Natal and perhaps more from Kimberley, for by the 15th a pressure was felt by General French which indicated reinforcements to the enemy.

Reverting to the British movements; the month following was occupied in Natal by abortive enterprises.

The Boers occupied a succession of ridges rising one above the other and several flat-topped hills for which their guns commanded the passages of the Tugela. Every ridge was entrenched and supported by rifle pits, overhead cover being given against shrapnel fire. Every entrenchment was open to the fire of the one next above it, so that no use could be made of it if taken. The only roads to the north-west passed through defiles in the fortified lines, the approaches to which were well overlooked. The whole of these lines, which covered many miles, were not occupied in force, but there were detachments in each section sufficient to hold it till supported from the main body. The British, for the most part infantry, no matter what route they

took, could be easily seen plodding their way laboriously along the foot of the hills, followed by long strings of ox-waggon's carrying their own stores, and those intended for the garrison they hoped to relieve. This gave the Boers, who had their horses always at hand, ample time to concentrate against the movement, so that every endeavour to turn their positions ended in what was practically a frontal attack.

There were two methods possible for the relief of Ladysmith. One was to take the entire position, and destroy the defending army. This was impossible with the numbers available. The other was to force a passage at some point, and keep it open while a convoy was pushed on, escorted by a force sufficient to break through the circle of investment. The latter course was what was attempted, but, out of an army of thirty thousand men, only twenty thousand could be employed, the rest being absolutely required to hold the railway, and keep open the roads in rear of the columns.

The first advance was made on the enemy's extreme right flank. The cavalry and mounted infantry under Lord Dundonald, which had seized Potgieter's Drift on January 10th, swept round towards Acton Homes; Clery's and Warren's infantry divisions crossed the Tugela at different points on the 16th and 17th, and, a bridge having been made, the artillery followed on the 18th. There was a continuous uphill battle for four days, the Boers losing ground by degrees. At last Warren's division worked its way to the foot of Spion Hill, and by a night attack the infantry managed to get possession of one corner of the kop, or summit, itself. Next day it was hoped that the entire hill would be taken, and a clear road thus opened to Ladysmith. But it was not to be done. Artillery could not be got up on the British side, which was precipitous; and when enough troops had been posted to hold the position below, there were not sufficient left on the top to overcome the counter attack of the enemy, assisted by heavy guns in earthworks upon higher ground. January 25th was a day of patient endurance; then, during the night, Spion Kop was abandoned, and the division deliberately retraced its steps.

Thus all that was done, except brave deeds, was to get a

glimpse of the promised land, and then recross the river with a dreary convoy of wounded men.

The next attempt was by a shorter route, but with the disadvantage of having the enemy on both sides.

On February 5th the army crossed at Manger's Drift. On the 6th they captured Vaal Krantz—an upland over which the road passed—but again the Boers concentrated and unmasked their heavy guns. On the 7th the forces recrossed the Tugela, probably owing to orders from Lord Roberts, who by this time had his own plans for the relief of Ladysmith as well as of Kimberley.

Meanwhile, the starving garrison grew haggard and thin, and the light died in the eyes of disappointed men, who bitterly realised the sickness of hope deferred.

At this time the excitement at Pretoria must have risen to fever heat. Lord Roberts was still at Cape Town; Ladysmith must soon fall, and Kimberley too; then, if all went well, it might prove a longer journey to Bloemfontein than the English Field Marshal imagined.

While these things were being done in Natal, there was no idleness among Boers or British at other points of the theatre of war.

Far to the North, Colonel Plumer, with a handful of volunteer troopers, was persevering in the hazardous enterprise of advancing to the aid of Mafeking, for 450 miles along the edge of the Transvaal, under the very eyes of Pretoria. It was impossible for him to move quickly, for he had no independent transport, and was obliged to repair and use the railway as he went. There were no supports or reinforcements to follow him, and no chance of succour if the Boers were to throw themselves in force between him and far away Bulawayo. Of all *forlorn hopes* this was about the most *forlorn*, for compared to Plumer's Horse, the besieged garrison with Baden-Powell reposed in security. Fortunately, the importance of Mafeking to the Boers was not immediate, hence no very decisive opposition; still the President was loth to allow a relief as long as it was uncertain by what routes Lord Roberts would advance upon the Transvaal.

About Colesberg and Stormberg, and in the district of Aliwal

North, both sides did their utmost to overturn the equilibrium, with not much result. In the west, however, roving bands upset the Colonial authority with impunity, annexed territory, pillaged the loyalists, and spread rebellion far and wide, from the Molopo to the Kurreebergen.

As already said, it was a time full of promise for the Boers, but yet one of peculiar perplexity, on account of the number of enterprises on hand, and the lack of means to carry them out. Cronje could not dispense with much more of his force on pain of releasing Lord Methuen. The Stormbergen commandoes were all at an irreducible minimum. Every man was where he ought to be, but every man was not enough. If only the Colonial Dutch would rise *en masse*!—but they would not. Some were absolutely loyal to the British; some gave the rebellion a tearful sympathy and nothing more; while others had no sooner crossed the rubicon of treason than their hearts misgave them. Extreme measures were adopted to obtain recruits. Boys were taken from school, foreigners were pressed, British subjects were freely commandeered; the crime was even committed of forcing Englishmen born to fight against their country. But all was unavailing. Lord Roberts was now ready to deliver a master stroke.

On the 28th January, General Kelly Kenny, in command of the Sixth Division, occupied Thebus (a railway station between Stormberg and Rosmead), thus menacing the Boers at Stormberg and Dordrecht. At Pretoria this was accepted as the preliminary step to invasion of the Free State through Springfontein *via* Norvals Pont or Bethulie, and reinforcements were quickly sent to the commandants on the border. Then followed a period of mystification, for it was found that General French's army before Colesberg was melting away, and that meantime all was quiet towards Burghersdorp. It was some time before the true state of affairs became apparent.

On the 4th February, by direct orders from Lord Roberts, wisely unexplained, General Hector Macdonald, who commanded the Highland Brigade at Modder Camp, was sent to occupy a position near Koodoes Drift, twenty miles down the river, and close to the right, or west flank, of Cronje's entrenchments. The

Boers endeavoured to intercept the movement, but failed, and, after sharp fighting, retreated to their works.

About this time Cronje, who probably still believed in the invasion *via* Springfontein, became aware of the passing of troops across the Orange River on the Western Railway, and coupling this with Macdonald's movement, concluded that Lord Methuen, having been reinforced, would shortly attempt to cut through the opposing cordon, and reach Kimberley on the west side. Thereupon he prepared for a stand up fight, but, being a clear-headed man, he took the precaution of sending away any guns he could not move quickly, or afford to lose, and of strengthening the reserves in the direction of Bloemfontein, in case it might be needful, after all, to retreat eastward, and unite with the Boer centre in defence of the Capital. But Cronje acted upon a false hypothesis. The storm he expected from the west was about to burst upon him from the east—for Lord Roberts had not divided his forces, nor was he travelling by the main road to Bloemfontein.

What was being done was this. The bulk of the army had first assembled at De Aar, then moved rapidly to various points on the Western Railway, between the Modder and the Orange rivers, there to be joined by French with the cavalry, and by the Sixth Division, which had been sent to Thebus only as a blind.

On February 9th, Lord Roberts himself arrived at Modder Camp, and next day withdrew the Highland Brigade from Koodoes Drift; then, on the 11th, began the famous march which resulted directly in the relief of Kimberley, the ruin of Cronje's army, and the occupation of Bloemfontein; and, indirectly, in the relief of Ladysmith, and the withdrawal of the Boers from Cape Colony.

The troops, numbering fully forty thousand independent of Lord Methuen's command, left the railway by separate columns, marching eastward on a curve roughly resembling a bent bow, whose string was the line from Eslin (Graspan) to Kimberley. The cavalry and mounted infantry led the way, seizing in succession the passages of the Riet and of the Upper Modder, two streams which unite just above Modder Bridge. The line of march swept across the whole of Cronje's communications,

though well out of reach of Cronje's army, and several camps full of ammunition and stores fell into the hands of the British with scarcely a blow. Pushing on and on, with the infantry continually in support, General French reached Kimberley on the 15th, and, forcing his way through the weak investment on the north-east of the town, completed its relief before either friend or foe had realised what had happened.

Cronje, who by this time, at any rate, had discovered his mistake, determined upon immediate retreat. His safest course was to go north-west, putting the Vaal between him and the British, for their infantry divisions were closing upon him, and he was already cut off to the south and south east. But this would have left the Free State completely open, and destroyed all hope of co-operation between him and the other commandants; therefore, good soldier that he was, he resolved to make for Bloemfontein at all risks, if only to delay the British long enough to cover the retreat of the Boer centre from the Orange River. The idea was well conceived, and though it ended in disaster, was splendidly carried out. Slipping away in the night between two British camps, the army covered thirty miles without a halt, maintaining a running fight the whole way; for the retreat was quickly discovered, and the pursuit was hot. At last the British cavalry got ahead of the exhausted Boers, and the infantry coming up by forced marches, they were brought to a standstill, and, after a well-fought battle, surrounded at Paardeberg on the 17th February.

Here was once more exhibited that remarkable skill in field fortification, and marvellous endurance under fire, which has all along characterised the Boers. Defeated but not dismayed, they immediately set to work to entrench, and did it so effectively that to quote one of the war correspondents, 'they seemingly sank into the ground.' There they remained motionless and silent under the bombardment at close range of sixty field guns, to which was presently added that of field howitzers firing lydite, and after a little, of 4.7 inch naval guns.

In so helpless a position, and under such terrific fire, the immediate surrender of any regular army would have been justified, yet these half-disciplined burghers actually held their

ground for ten days, and only yielded at last when it was seen that further sacrifice was unnecessary, the retreat of the centre Boer army having by that time been virtually secured.

Some people have found fault with what they have been pleased to call 'the ovation' given to the defeated army on this occasion, and have urged in particular that Cronje did not deserve the honours of war. Surely they forgot that the Boers were belligerents, not rebels, and that the British Government had long ago condoned every ill deed connected with the old war. Cronje was, it is true, a man deeply stained by crime, but he was a brave general, and as such Lord Roberts received him.

As to the rank and file, they had fought grandly, and our soldiers befriended them with soldierly good feeling—let those object who will.

When the news of the capitulation reached England, there was a general feeling of surprise that only about four thousand men should have been found at Paardeberg out of a force quite recently estimated at fifteen thousand. On consideration, however, it is not difficult to account for the original army, thus:—

Killed, wounded, or died of disease, during siege of	
Kimberley, - - - - -	1000
Reinforcements to armies in Natal and Orange	
River, - - - - -	5000
Small bodies escaped N. and N.E., - - -	500
Retreated W. and N.W., - - - - -	1200
Killed and missing during the retreat, - -	1500
Killed at Paardsberg, - - - - -	1500
Surrendered, - - - - -	4300
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Total, - - - - -	15,000

It was on Majuba Day, 27th February, that Cronje capitulated. Frantic endeavours had been made to save him; but the commandoes, hurrying up from north, south, and east, were intercepted and defeated piecemeal, for Lord Roberts was strong enough to do this, and still find troops to surround the laager at Paardeberg.

Strictly speaking the second chapter of the war ends with the decisive victory of that day, for the events which immediately followed were but corrolaries to the military problem which Lord

Roberts had just solved. All the same, it would be pedantic, and historically incorrect, to treat the subsequent operations as purely incidental. When the stag has been brought to bay, the chase may be over in the hunter's eyes, but then is the time for the hounds to show their pluck and breeding. So in this war, the discipline and bravery of the army was never better shown, than when called upon to secure the prize, which good strategy had at last brought within their reach.

The following is a brief chronicle of concurrent successes. The connection of events will be easily seen :—

OPERATIONS IN NATAL.

- Feb. 15th *Relief of Kimberley.*
17th Sir Redvers Buller commences fourth, and last, advance upon Ladysmith. Boer army reduced by drafts sent to relief of Cronje.
18th Boers driven from South side of the Tugela.
19th Colenso re-occupied.
19th to 27th } Continuous Battle. Boers retreating slowly.
28th Ladysmith relieved. Boer army retired behind the Biggarsbergen.

OPERATIONS IN CAPE COLONY.

- Feb. 11th Clements attacked by Boers at Rensberg (second railway station south of Colesberg), to which point the British had retired before superior numbers.
12th Severe action at Rensburg. British retreat upon Arundel.
15th *Relief of Kimberley.*
18th Boers retiring at all points. Brabant re-occupies Dordrecht.
22nd British advance from Arundel. Boers retiring across the Orange River.
27th Cronje surrendered.
Mar. 2nd British enter Colesberg.
5th Gatacre re-occupies Stormberg; Brabant drives enemy before him.
9th Clements takes possession of Norvals Pont.
12th Gatacre pushes through Burgersdorp to Bethulia.
13th Boers have all retired beyond the Orange River. Rebels dispersing.
14th *British reach Bloemfontein.*

FURTHER OPERATIONS IN THE FREE STATE.

- Feb. 27th *Cronje capitulates.*
 Mar. 7th Battle of Poplar Grove. 15,000 Boers defeated and almost surrounded.
 10th Sixth Division advancing on Bloemfontein; in action at Driefontein Kopjes.
 14th Cavalry and Seventh Division enter Bloemfontein. President Steyn and Executive escape with the garrison to Winburg. Three Thousand Free Staters left behind, give up their arms and disperse.

Taking the course of the war as a whole, from January 10th, when Lord Roberts landed, to March 14th, when he entered Bloemfontein, we have a good example of what can be done by a well-organised army, in the hands of a capable commander who has undivided authority.

As to the means employed, there was no novelty—only the old strings vibrating to a new tune. In the strategy there was (1) Secrecy and surprise, (2) Exact preparation, (3) Vigorous execution. In the tactics, (1) Attack at point of least resistance, (2) Concentration of force for the decisive action.

These terms, expressive of the soundest principles, were always to be found in the official text books, but there is a great gulf between theory and practice in this world. Generals, like poets, are, as of old, born, not made; moreover, there are some ideas and sequences of thought productive of action, which no educational process can transfer from brain to brain.

The following are approximate statistics of the period:—

British Casualties—officers and men—from the beginning of the war to the taking of Bloemfontein.

Killed,	2500	The killed and wounded include 840 officers.
Wounded,	9000	
Prisoners,	3500	
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15,000		

Half these casualties occurred during the second period of the war, that is to say, from after the first battle of Colenso, thus:—

Buller's army at Spion Kop and Potgieters,	2100
Do. in the relief of Ladysmith, 14th to 27th	
February,	2200
Roberts' army, 11th February to 14th March,	2000
Other casualties,	1200
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	7500

and it is very interesting to notice the economy of loss effected by operating, as Lord Roberts did, with a great superiority in numbers.

The total of officers killed and wounded gives the ratio of one officer to thirteen men *hors-de-combat*. In the earlier battles the proportion was one to nine; so that a good deal has been gained by making the officers discard their swords, and otherwise appear exactly like their men; still, the remaining ratio, of one officer to every seventeen men, is seriously large, for there is rarely one officer to twice that number of rank and file. For the future, we must accept it proved that, in consequence of his duties in action, an officer's risk is twice that of the private soldier, and we shall consequently have to largely increase the proportion of regimental officers, and, what is more, take care to maintain a large and effective reserve of officers, such as our military authorities have hitherto never even thought of.

Boer Casualties (estimate) since the battle of Colenso—earlier losses having been replaced.

Killed and wounded,	5000
Died by accident or disease,*	1000
Prisoners,	4600
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	10,600

In any comparison of the recent casualties, it is to be remembered that those on the British side have been promptly met by drafts from home, so that they have had no effect upon the military operations; whereas the losses of the Boers have permanently diminished their forces; any gains by the enlistment of foreigners or further commandeering having been

* There was said to be much sickness in the Boer camps.

more than counterbalanced, by the many desertions of Free Staters and rebel colonials, which followed the defeat of Cronje.

OPPOSING FORCES.

In the lull which has followed the occupation of Bloemfontein, the rival armies, which before faced each other on both sides the theatre of war, continue to do so, but in greatly altered circumstances. The Boers have been reduced by nearly 20 per cent. of their fighting strength, while the British have not only replaced casualties, but also very greatly augmented their numbers, by volunteer enlistments in South Africa, and continuous arrivals from other parts of the Empire. Lord Roberts has with him at least 50,000 men, to oppose to some 30,000 which Botha is said to have got together at Kronstadt, and Sir Redvers Buller has a united army 40,000 strong, against which the enemy can hardly bring 10,000 into the field. On the other hand, the British still suffer the disadvantage of having two distinct armies, unable to co-operate tactically; whereas the Boers can move by interior lines, and thus concentrate at will. Probably the earliest operation of the near future will be the opening up of land communication between the main army under Lord Roberts, and its satellite under Buller, and the closing of the Natal Passes to the enemy.

As regards the war generally, the second stage has been notable for the wonderful promptitude of the British yeomanry, and of the home and colonial volunteers, in giving their services to the country, unconditionally, and in many cases at their own expense. It is to be hoped that the public will sufficiently appreciate the magnitude of the sacrifices thus made, and that the press will respond to the sentiment, by following up the career of the separate corps, with as much attention as is bestowed upon the doings of our regular regiments. In many ways the volunteer soldiers on active service deserve even more consideration than the regulars. Thomas Atkins has, as a rule, been a labourer; a soldier's pay and prospects are to him something; coarse fare is only what he has had from childhood. The volunteer, on the contrary, has had to throw up his professional or business prospects, without the

slightest hope of a *quid pro quo*, and he has much to suffer in the roughness of his unaccustomed environment. Not only this, but if, as is often the case, he belongs to the upper class, he has to lay aside his social rank completely in taking service as a private, and must feel the contrast when he compares his lot with that of his brothers and cousins, who, as officers in the army, are earning pay and promotion by the war, besides laying up a goodly store of honours and decorations.

These remarks particularly apply to many of the so called Colonial Corps raised in South Africa. In these the troopers are mostly the social equals of their officers, and a very large proportion are young Englishmen from the public schools. Many of them have qualified for Woolwich or Sandhurst, and others have served their trainings in the militia. In the recent dearth of suitable candidates for commissions, the War Office might, one would have thought, have remembered some of these young men, but unluckily the War Office has no memory except for its own worst traditions.

I must not conclude this article without reference to the most important event of the war outside the immediate sphere of military operations.

On 27th March General Joubert died at Pretoria, regretted alike by the English and the Boers. President Kruger was perhaps secretly pleased at the removal of his political rival, but even he must now feel the loss of the only man capable of carrying on the war with the slightest hope of success.

The Boers, though they admitted his unblemished patriotism, generally failed to appreciate the greatness of Joubert, and were offended at his opposition to the extreme war party. His influence, however, would have been always considerable, and had he lived a little longer he might have saved his country, as did the great Confederate, Robert Lee, when, seeing that the end of the civil war was certain, he refused to shed another drop of blood.

As to the British, we recognised in Joubert the man whose presence was a guarantee that the struggle in South Africa should not degenerate into savagery, and we looked to him as a possible peacemaker in days to come. Moreover, we esteemed

him for his unfailing courtesy, and for his many acts of kindness to the prisoners and to the wounded, so different from the behaviour of many of his subordinates. For these things, and because Englishmen can admire nobility of character, wherever it may be found, we all, from the court to the cottage, have silently joined in the mourning for Piet Joubert, not as the Commandant-General of the Boer army, but as a true and good man, our old acquaintance and kind-hearted opponent.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

GERMANY.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (No. 2, 1900).—It is now fifty years since Dr. Dillman published his translation of the Book of Jubilees from the Ethiopic version, in Ewald's *Jahrbucher*. That was the first translation that had been given to the German public, and in view of that fact F. Bohn here offers an interesting review of what has since been done by scholars to make the Book of Jubilees better known and understood. In his article he contributes towards that end also. He discusses some of the more important questions literary and exegetic, which the work suggests. These questions are as to its original form, language, elements, date, and teaching. In its first form he thinks it belongs to the middle of the second century B.C., and was written in the Hebrew tongue by one who was thoroughly conversant with the thought and life of his people, and with their traditions and hopes. The work was added to and modified, however, by several hands afterwards.—Dr. Ebeling devotes a lengthy paper to the first article in Luther's *Smaller Catechism*, discussing the variations in its several texts from the Latin and Greek versions of the *Symbolicum*, Luther's comments on it, and the controversies which these matters have provoked since.—Julius Köhler furnishes a study on Johannes Falk, the man, and the character and significance of his work on the history of 'The Inner Mission.' It is not a biographical memoir of him that is here attempted. Herr Köhler endeavours rather to show the influence he exercised as a satirical and lyrical writer, and as a philanthropist.—Dr. Theodor Elsenhaus contributes a series of 'Beiträge zur Lehre vom Gewissen.' In a prefatory note he deals with the difficulty of finding an adequate scientific definition of conscience. He then in five sections proceeds to discuss conscience as an element of the spiritual life, and a factor in its operations and actions; and to point out how it might best be cultivated and disciplined so as to make it what deserves to be called, the Christian conscience. The other articles are—'Bemerkungen zum Briefwechsel der Reformatoren,' by Dr. Knaake; 'Einige Bemerkungen zur wahrhaft geschichtlichen Methode,' by Professor Paul Schwartzkopffand; a review of Doumergue's *Jean Calvin*; and of Gustav Wolf's *Deutsche Geschichte in Zeitalter der Gegenreformation*, Vol. I.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (Feb., March, April).—Herr W. Siegfried's novel, 'Ein Wohltäter,' is concluded in the February number, and the first instalment of another, 'Ein Kopf von Hellen,' by Herr Adelbert Meinhardt complete the fiction in that number.—M. von Brandt writes on the 'Crisis in South Africa.' In his article he gives a pretty fair summary of the incidents leading up to the issuing of the celebrated *ultimatum* by the Transvaal Government. The writer, however, regards the British interference with the Transvaal in its treatment of those within its territory as unjustifiable, and so manages to put the British Government in the wrong. This is quite in keeping with the general sentiment of Germany, and the Continent as a whole. Great Britain is represented as having been harsh, unsympathetic, and impolitic throughout, and we are told that the Boers have good reason for their hatred of us. The 'tiefes religiöses Gefühl' of the Boers is pathetically dwelt upon, and the other side of their character is quietly left out of account. M. Von Brandt expressed, when he penned this paper, the hope that the United States Government would step in and by its mediation secure for the Republics, at least, their independence.—In the March number the same writer has a lengthy article on Mr. Joseph Chamberlain. It is based on Mr. Jayes' recent work on that Statesman in the series of 'The Public Men of To-day.' M. von Brandt's article is, however, merely a summary of the events and incidents of Mr. Chamberlain's career as a man of business, as a municipal leader, and as a statesman, with brief appreciation of the many parts he has played. Our writer here takes no sides as regards Mr. Chamberlain's share in the origin of the South African war, wisely remarking that the time is not yet come for passing a definite judgment on a question of that kind; but he admits that there can be no reason for doubting the honourableness of Mr. Chamberlain's conviction as to the unavoidableness of war, in the light of his views as to the civilizing mission of England.—Paul Heyse continues in these three numbers his interesting 'Zugenderinnerungen,' and in the March number a tribute is paid to that writer on the occasion of his having attained his seventieth birth-day.—In the February and April numbers, Philipp Zorn continues and completes his account of the Peace Conference at the Hague, and its results.—Anna von Helmholtz, whose death on December 1st created a feeling of wide regret and sympathy in many circles on the Continent, is the subject of a kindly and reverent notice, which has been contributed by a writer who signs it with the initials 'W. D.'—J. Reinke discourses in the February number on the

development of the 'Natural Sciences,' with special reference to the Science of Biology in the 19th century.—Freiher von Beaulieu Marconnay furnishes a timely and informing article on the development of the German navy, and marine power generally.—Max Lenx continues in all the three numbers his series of articles on the Great Powers, 'Die grossen Mächte,' subtitled 'Ein Rückblick auf unser Jahrhundert.'—In the March number Baron v. d. Goltz writes on 'Seemacht und Landkrieg,' showing from history the great advantage which a large a well-equipped fleet gives to the Power possessing it over another Power possessing greater military strength and resources. The purpose of the article is to support the recent proposals to increase considerably the German Navy.—General von Goeben's 'Letzte Reise nach Spanien (1878)' is the subject of a short paper by Gebhard Zernin. Fiction is represented in this number by 'Ein Erlebnis,' by Ilse Frapan, in addition to A. Meinhardt's 'Ein Kopf von Hellen.'—(April)—The article in this number which is likely to first attract the attention of the English reader, is that by Herr Felix Salomon, 'Die Englische-Afrika Politik.' It is a historical summary and critical analysis of the events leading up to Great Britain's position in South Africa, and her inter-relations with, and her interference in, the affairs of the Boer Republics. It presents the facts, however, from a severely German point of view; and the article reveals the spirit that seems to dominate not merely political, but even literary circles in the Fatherland towards this country. Great Britain is, consequently, in fault for all the ill-feelings cherished towards her by the Boers; and our author expresses the hope that Mr. Gladstone's wire, after Majuba, may yet again be repeated, 'We have done injustice to the Boers. Let us conclude peace with them.'—'Gestalten des dichters,' by F. Spielhagen, deals with the characters of poetic creation—the *Dramatis Personæ* of the poet's genius, and discusses their relations to his personal experiences and to his imaginative faculty.—An article specially interesting to Germans in relation to their recent Chinese acquisitions is furnished by Herr W. Grube, 'Der Confucianismus und das Chinesenthum.' Shantung is the province in which Confucius was born, and in which he is still very specially honoured. Its life to-day is permeated and coloured with his spirit and teaching, and can only be thoroughly understood and appreciated when looked at in their light. It is to help his fellow-countrymen, in their new relations with that province, towards such knowledge that Herr Grube has written this paper.—Herr Franz Xaver Krauss, in fulfilment of an old pro-

mise to the readers of this *Rundschau*, gives here the first of a series of monographs on the friends of his youth and earlier years, the subject of this one being Antonio Stoppani, the distinguished Lombard Naturalist.—The other articles in this number are 'Werther's Grab,' an 'Erzählung,' by Isolde Kurz: and 'Conrad Ferd, Meyer's Dichterleben'—a review of the articles which have been appearing in these pages from the pen of Adolf Frey. The review is by Herman Grimm.—The usual *Rundschau*, political and literary, book reviews and notices, occupy a considerable portion of each number.

RUSSIA.

THE RUSSIAN PHILOSOPHICAL REVIEW (*Voprosi, Philosophii i Psychologii*, No. 49), opens with a paper containing Mons. B. N. Tchichérin's 'Philosophy of Right,' Book III., chap. i., on 'Moral Law and Freedom.' One question discussed here is—Does morality exist apart from religion? To this question the author replies it is impossible to answer otherwise than affirmatively. In the second chapter is discussed, 'Instinct and Conscience;' while the third chapter begins by referring to the ancients as passing many judgments about Virtue—what it was and wherein it consists. The father of Moral Philosophy—Socrates—admitting in reason the source of moral conceptions, recognised that virtue consists in knowledge. He affirmed that no one does evil voluntarily, knowing it to be evil. Everybody seeks his own good and makes mistakes only in the accuracy of his estimate. In order to make people virtuous it is only necessary to explain to them that which is their present good. But against this Aristotle objects that something more than knowledge is necessary; to have also a correct direction of the will by which practice or usage is gained. In this way virtue is accompanied by knowledge, but it does not consist in knowledge alone. This last view is correct. In the fourth chapter M. Tchichérin passes on to that which he almost seems to despair of—the moral Ideal of Humanity!—On this article succeeds a paper by Vassilieff on the views of Auguste Comte on the Philosophy of Mathematics. He tells us that Comte, from his earliest years to the last dreams of his old age, held on to the one idea—the renewal of new grounds for that intellectual unity which bound humanity to the middle ages, when in Western Europe there was only one spiritual power—the power of the Catholic Church or the Papacy.—We have in the next paper one on Bacon and his historical significance, in which the author goes into a pretty extensive description of the *Novum Organum* and its constitutional parts. He notices

that Bacon, from his previous life and training, had a large experience, of which he made use, as also from his subsequent engagements of an official kind. The Advancement of Learning is also referred to. The author of the paper, M. N. Ivantsoff postpones its conclusion.—The next paper is on the question as to the Real Unity of Consciousness. The author refers to papers previously issued on the substantiality of the Spirit and two-fold nature of man, and remarks that researches of this kind are not likely to be popular. He then proceeds to speak of the proscription of certain studies that do not fall in with the popular tendency, a weakness which we have more reason to deplore in British latitudes. He refers to the prejudice against views of a dualistic and spiritualistic character. The author, M. Lopatine—the Editor of the Journal—connects this with the monistic and other theories of an uncommon character, not always welcome. He refers to the authors of certain Phenomenist Studies. The Unity of Consciousness, he maintains, is grounded on experience generally, but the ground is only psychological!—This is followed by a lengthened paper on the great novelist, Turgenev, as a Psychopathologue. This is followed by the usual reviews of books and Bibliography.

ITALY.

NUOVA ANTOLOGIA.—(January 1.)—The new year commences with verses by the well-known poet, Mario Rapisardi, 'Dopo la Vittoria,' further embellished by the portrait of the author, who looks Byronic and picturesque, with slouched hat, folded arms, and defiant mien.—A piece of modern history follows in 'Sulla via di Roma,' from unedited documents, the collector of which is not named.—Professor G. Mazzone writes of Leonardo da Vinci as a writer, pointing out the way in which, fragmentary as his writings are, they reveal the gigantic mind of the writer, and, in conclusion, Professor Mazzone alludes to Leonardo's great predecessor, Leon Battista Alberti, who was likewise a universal genius, but one of whom only a few elect spirits have recognised the greatness.—A review of the Duke of Abruzzi's expedition to Alaska in 1897 is contributed by Signora Gropallo under the title of 'L'Alpinismo e la spedizione al Monte Elia.'—U. Flores dedicates some pages to the memory of the late Albert Pasini; and the political situation is reviewed by A. Frassati in an article entitled 'Il momento di osare' (The moment to dare), dwelling on the danger into which the war in South Africa might plunge the British Empire. He incites his own country

to come forward as the active ally of England on this occasion, pointing out the identity of their interests.—Prof. Piccolomini treats of the new papyri acquired by the University of Strasbourg.—Signor Ferraris pleads for agrarian reform, one of the most burning questions in the home politics of Italy.—E. Masi reviews in detail a new romance by Signorina Giacomelli, '*Raccolta*,' wherein social theories and much polemics are interwoven with the purely artistic side of the novel.—(Jan. 16)—Opens with an essay on the New Year by E. de Amicis, a welcome to the opening century, in all its aspects, to the different members of society—a young man, an old man, a girl of fifteen, a lady of thirty, a lover, a husband, a bride, a mother, a member of Parliament, an artist, an expectant heir, an emigrant, a priest, a sentry, a father, a captain of the line, a landed proprietor, a writer, a speculator, till it culminates in De Amicis himself. The different personages are sketches drawn with the dramatic power so long associated with the author's name, and in their monologues are blended humour and pathos.—E. G. Lovatelli has a learned dissertation on the tombs of the Appian road; and G. Rovetti continues his romance *La Signorina*.—G. Narazini recounts an episode in his travels in Spain, the cremation of a prince, and describes in detail all the ceremonies thereto appertaining.—Of more practical interest is 'Our Future in America,' by O. Macchiore.—E. Pais treats the often noticed subject of the *Stela Arcuica* of the Roman Forum; and this paper is followed by a review of Lord Roberts' career in India, less as a historic than as a biographical study, introducing the personality of 'our Bobs' to the Italians.—C. de Lollis discourses of Ibsen's *When we Wake the Dead*, and General Dal Verme gives an account of the first three months of the war in South Africa.—(Feb. 1)—G. A. Cesare contributes a detailed critique on Professor Arthur Graf's poems, in three volumes, *Medusa*, *Dopo il Tramento*, and *Le Danaide*, and relates that the author was, from his very infancy, predisposed to be a pessimist. When he was only six years old, he happened to notice that the table, so smooth and shining of surface, was rough underneath, which fact gave him the sensation that everything is a lie, and the feeling never left him. He was sensitive in the highest degree, but this sensitiveness resulted rather in reflection than in action. When a young man he was offered a political candidature at Pinerolo, but refused to stand, and as a professor and rector he never made himself much talked about. He favoured socialism, but never wrote a line or made a speech on the subject. His intellect was keen, his ideas calm.

Signor Cesaeo enters into a full examination of the above-named poems, which he describes as written in a gloomy, impetuous, profound style; they 'howl, sob, curse, and menace; they come from night and plunge into night.' Graf is a poet who cannot please everyone, especially now-a-days, but none can deny that the 'hermit of art' has achieved for himself a special position in the history of modern Italian poetry.—Galton's work, *Hereditary Genius*, is the subject of an exhaustive essay by G. Sergi, who expresses his own conclusions as follows:—'A man of genius is he who has felt and known the desires of mankind, but has not been influenced by them in the ordinary way. He does not become pessimistic from the reading of books; nor a mystic unless he has a mystic tendency. He lives outside the crowd which is so easily suggestionised; he is solitary, and in open opposition to the social current. He is almost always eccentric in his greatness.'—G. Rovetta's romance, *La Signorina*, is continued.—G. Bressan discusses the question of the autonomy of the port of Genoa; and G. Finali contributes a biographical sketch of the patriot, Domenico Farini.—F. Di Palma speaks of the reform in the *personale* of State arsenals.—U. Flores dedicates an article to the memory of John Ruskin, giving an account of that great thinker's career, and ends his remarks in the words: 'In John Ruskin taste and reason melt into one sentiment—the passion for the beautiful; and his works, even in their analytical character and their tendency to social reform, are only the splendid manifestation of that one sentiment.'—D. Sciacca Della Scala and F. Giucciardini discuss the tax on native sugar.—E. Della Vida discourses on agrarian reform.—Nenii criticises recent publications.—(Feb. 16th)—Professor Villari here publishes, with additions, his lecture, given at Messina, on the society, 'Dante Alighieri,' which was instituted with the aim of maintaining alive the Italian sentiment and language in all Italian colonies. Professor Villari gives a very interesting account of his visits to the colonies of Italian workmen in Switzerland, Austria, etc., realising their manner of living, the wages they receive, and the obstacles they encounter in preserving their nationality. The paper, too long to summarize in detail here, is well worth careful perusal. It gives an idea of the vast field opened to the action of the 'Dante Alighieri' in Europe and America, and Professor Villari argues that it may and should be extended to Egypt, Tunis, Tripolis, and Malta. He remarks that he cannot understand why England should suddenly, and without any reason, forbid in the latter island the very ancient official use of the Italian language.

Professor Villari ends with an appeal to Italians of all parties and all religions to encourage the Italian language and sentiment. 'Our patron saint,' he exclaims, 'is Dante; our religion is our country; we fight with a high ideal which ought to unite us all—the moral and civil renaissance of Italy.'—B. Odescalchi narrates his late journey to the Argentine Republic.—Aventuri has an interesting paper on Dante and Giotto.—E. Arbib discusses the parliamentary question.—Professor De Amicis contributes a chapter on Giuseppe Garibaldi from his new book, *Hopes and Glories*.—C. Nava notices the unsucess of the Catholic party, and affirms that the abstention from voting does serious harm to its organisation. As long as it lasts, the Catholics cannot hope to use that beneficent influence on the social struggle which alone can save Italy from ruin.—(March 16th)—General Dal Verme here contributes an article on the Transvaal, concluding as follows:—'If General White and his soldiers have given the world an admirable example of extreme military valour, and General Buller proof of firmness and pertinacity under adverse circumstances, what shall we say of the Boers, who, placed in very inferior numbers, between the besieged and their liberators, kept the former shut up for four months, and prevented the latter from helping them? These peasants, soldiers from fifteen to sixty years of age, and no artillerymen, maintained the siege of these garrisons; occupied, always fighting, extensive provinces of the enemy; met the solid English troops in battle, and made prisoners 130 officers and 3000 soldiers. And all this they did in spite of the reinforcements that reached the English in December and January. And it was only when the English Government had finished pouring into Africa a torrent of men collected from every part of the empire, and when there appeared a general who knew how to carry the action into the open plains of the Orange State, and when the Boers could no longer take the positions which rendered them invincible, that these peasant-soldiers were conquered. But they were beaten when they were only one against fourteen, after having held their own against the entire British army (!) for months, against forces four times superior to their own. The story of this heroic people will be written in indelible characters as that of a war of giants, with which the century closes. The Boers may to-day disappear under an avalanche of soldiers, but is it impossible that they will not arise once more in better times?' Such is General Dal Verme's view.

MINERVA (January 28).—This review of reviews has for some time added original articles to those translated from foreign magazines, and in the present number there is a pleasant paper by V. Pica, giving an account of the Italian painter, Mario de Maria, who often signed his pictures by the pseudonym of *Marius pictor*. Mario de Maria was born at Bologna in August, 1853. He was the ultimate scion of a family of artists. His grandfather was a well-known sculptor, his great-grandfather a wood-engraver, and his great-great grandfather an esteemed music-master. Mario de Maria commenced working as an artist in his native town, but soon went to Paris, where he pursued his studies, influenced greatly by the works of Delacroix and Deschamps. He exhibited his first finished works at Bologna and Leghorn in 1874 and 1876, but they were almost unnoticed. He sent a more important painting to Turin in 1884, but it was refused. He was not discouraged; on the contrary, he overcame his natural indolence, and worked with great fervour, showing evermore a bold and genial originality. Finally he settled in Rome, where by and bye he determined to make a small exhibition of his own and several paintings of other young and almost unknown men, and it was in 1886 that their works, fifty-seven in number, were exhibited in a private apartment at No. 27 via S. Nicolo da Tolentino. The exhibition was entitled 'In arte Libertas,' and had a signal success. The following year another exhibition was held, in which was one of de Maria's pictures, which unconsciously bore a truly Whistler-like name—'A White Night on a Scale of Grey.' This exhibition was equally successful. Some rivalries and jealousies embittered the soul of Mario de Maria, who brusquely separated himself from his former companions, and for several years he exhibited no important picture in Italy. He sent all he produced to England, Germany, Austria, and America, where he obtained great success, gaining the gold medal at Munich in 1888 for a vast canvas—'The Plague at Rome in 600.' Mario de Maria was a great painter of moonlight effects, Venetian canals, Roman ruins, amatory wanderings of cats on roofs; innumerable subjects tempted him to symbolise human life by the melancholy tone of bright or clouded moonlight. But he did not neglect the sun, and his two paintings exhibited in the autumn of 1899 proved his mastery of brilliant sunshine effects. In the first, 'The Cypresses of Villa Massino,' a centaur is chasing a wild boar, while a purple sunset inflames a group of noble cypresses. In the other, 'The Close of a Summer Day,' a flock of sheep cross a plain bathed in golden light, while in

the foreground a large tree spreading its branches above an ancient sarcophagus, stands black against the flaming horizon. Though there is something Böcklinesque in this painting, it is neither an imitation of, nor a derivation from, the works of that great painter, but only shows a close affinity between the two artistic natures. Mario de Maria's one hundred and sixty works hitherto produced give him a foremost place among Italian painters.—(February 4)—In this number there is an original paper by V. Pica in praise of the Sicilian sculptor, Domenico Trentacoste, who was born at Palermo in 1859, and as a boy showed such talent in modelling in clay from the life that he was encouraged to become an artist; and, going to Paris in 1880, became at once, though previously unknown there, engaged in executing several portrait busts which, exhibited at the Salon, called great attention to him. While occupied with such portrait busts, the sculptor also created a whole people of small and large ideal busts, taking mythological or idyllic subjects. In 1887, he gained with his 'Pia dei Tolomei' increased fame, and in 1889 his 'Cecilia' showed great delicacy of poetical inspiration. After remaining for fifteen years in Paris, interrupted by frequent visits to London, Signor Trentacoste returned to his native country and settled in Florence. He exhibited his 'Derelitta' and 'Ophelia' at Venice, and gained the prize of 5000 francs. Hitherto he had been unknown in Italy, but now his name spread rapidly, and his success was repeated at the Turin exhibition, and at Florence and Milan, where he gained the gold medal. He produced numberless medallions in plaster and terra-cotta, and his greater work, the 'Daughter of Niobe,' all of which were refused at the Art Academy as excessive in chiaroscuro and deficient in design. Meanwhile political events induced Trentacoste to enlist in the army, and he went through the campaign against the Austrians. After the peace of Villafranca, he again took up his profession and painted several military subjects, obtaining his first success. Later on he exhibited at Turin a scene from the ghetto at Venice, so violent in colour and design that it gained him the name of the 'blotcher,' and this style of art represents a very interesting portion of Italian art in this second half of the century. The style, introduced by Signorini, Tivoli, and others, and derived from the manner of Deschamps, consisted principally in an excessive use of light and shade. By and bye, Trentacoste grew tired of 'blotching,' and adopted a new manner more fitted to his real nature. In 1864 he exhibited at Florence, and gained a prize for, his 'L'Alzaia,' a large group of boatmen dragging a boat

against the current on the Arno. This, and a canvas representing agitated lunatics in the Florence asylum, were good examples of Trentacoste's new realism. The artist then painted many landscapes—some of the Tuscan fields, others of the Riviera and the Isle of Elba. But Trentacoste was most successful, and obtained a signal success at the third exhibition at Venice, which was purchased for the gallery of modern art in that city.—(February 25th)—The subject of this month's art-paper is Telemaco Signorini, who was born at Florence on the 18th of August, 1835, the son of the painter to the Grand-Duke of Tuscany. His father brought up his son to his own profession, though the boy had shown more aptitude for a literary career. After studying in Florence for some time, Telemaco Signorini went to Venice, where he became enthusiastic for the old Venetian school of painting. He then returned to Florence and executed several paintings; in his paintings of city scenes, among which those of Edinburgh were very characteristic, and his pictures of old Florence streets—now destroyed—have a historical interest. Telemaco Signorini, now an old man, still paints with youthful fire, has led an extremely industrious life, producing more than one hundred and fifty paintings. He has lived for art and not for making money, and has scarcely insured for himself a modest income in his old age.—(March 4)—Leaving for the present the description of Italian painters, this month's number gives an interesting account of the Belgian artist, Léon Frédéric, known in Paris by his exhibitions at the Salon.

RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (February 1).—In an article on the extension of the Italian Red Cross and its service in time of peace, Count G. Parravicino, after having alluded to the important services rendered by that institution in war-time, says that it has not received a preparation adequate to the case of an international war. While the Russian Red Cross Society can dispose of a patrimony of about thirty-two million francs, the Italian institution has little more than six millions. It is true that it did good work in Africa, but the troops active there were not more than 20,000 men, while the expenses of the Red Cross amounted to 1,500,000 francs! The Red Cross should be contributed to also in time of peace, so that the indispensable material would not have to be collected in haste in time of need. Unfortunately, in Italy the absolute necessity of this is not recognised. The Italian Red Cross is at present studying the question of its activity in time of peace, and opinions are much

divided, some arguing that activity should be carried into all fields of beneficence, and that stations should be instituted in operative centres for the help of the workmen, like those which did such good service at the Carrara quarries; while others affirm that the Red Cross should strictly adhere to the old programme, in which opinion Count Parravicino agrees, except alone in times of real national calamities, such as great epidemics, earthquakes, inundations, etc. Count Parravicino gives an account of the network of stations planted in all the centres of Italy, proving that no other institution disposes of such a vast field or is so well organised.

EMPORIUM (January).—In completion of former studies in this magazine of the interesting figure of the painter, Segantini, there is here a paper by L. Benapiani describing the life of the artist at Maloja (where he had a villa), his family, his habits, etc. The paper is well illustrated with a portrait of the artist, and views of Maloja, of the villa, and of the family grave. Segantini died last September, and all Engadine followed him to his last repose, while flowers and condolences reached the family from Germany, Austria, and other parts.—Next comes, under the rubric of 'Retrospective Art,' a description by P. Molmenti of the beautiful villa Emo at Fanzolo, built by Palladio, and added to, towards the middle of the seventeenth century, by the patrician Mario Contarini, who died in March, 1689. Three, now rare, books speak of this villa, and the article before us describes the paintings therein contained. G. Ferrara, in 'The Great Capitals,' gives a full description of Munich, illustrating his paper with numerous photographs.—Follows a long description of 'The Great Telescope of 1900' for the Paris exhibition.—V. Pica gives an interesting account of the Neapolitan *presepe*, which rustic representations of the birth of Christ are now superseded by the Teutonic Christmas-tree.—Here, too, is a notice of the death of John Ruskin, in words which show that Italians do not fail to justly appreciate him as a teacher and a critic.

FRANCE.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 6, 1899).—M. E. Doutté gives here the first section of a series of 'Notes sur l'Islam Maghribin.' The notes contained in this number are confined to the subject of the worship paid to the Marabouts, or Islamic saints, and more especially to the cult paid to them in the Maghrib—viz., Algeria and Morocco. The fact that such worship is rendered to their reputed saints in spite of the pro-

nounced monotheism of Mahommedanism is first discussed, and abundant evidence is furnished of the fact. The cause, or probable cause, of this departure from the distinctive doctrine of the Islamic Faith is dealt with, and then the forms this cult takes among the Berbers are described. It is a common spectacle in the streets of Algiers, when a marabout appears in them, for the populace to turn out to a man, and prostrate themselves before him as he passes, kiss the stirrup of his horse if he is riding, or the prints of his feet in the dust if he is walking. A notable feature of the marabout's authority, as of his power and influence, is that it is local, limited sometimes even to the village where he resides. In the Maghrib, if he fails to work the miracles expected of him, he at once falls in public estimation. The writer speaks from personal knowledge of his subject, but makes abundant use of the testimony of other travellers and writers. The sanctity that adheres to the marabout extends to everything around him, especially to his *mogaddem*, or personal servant. When the saint dies his *mogaddem* becomes the custodian of his tomb, and the recipient of the offerings made at it. It is consequently a lucrative post, is hereditary, and often leads to important civil appointments. It seems, however, that not all Mohammedans in the Maghrib are saint-worshippers, but the great majority of them are.—'Nebo, Hadaran, et Serapis dans l'Apologie du Pseudo-Meliton' is the title of a brief article from the pen of M. Isidore Levy. In the *Spicilegium*, Melito says that 'everybody knows that Nebo represents Orpheus and Hadaran represents Zoroaster.' Recently M. C. Ganneau has discussed these identifications. M. Levy does not regard his conclusions as justified, and gives here what he thinks to be the real solution of the confusion into which Melito fell. He had been misled. M. Levy thinks, by his confounding the word in the Avesta, *athravan* (pronounced *adhravan*); that is the usual word for priest in the Avesta, with Hadaran; and Nebo with *nabi*, prophet. From his euphemistic tendencies, he thus confounded Zoroaster with Hadaran, attributing to him priestly functions through regarding *athravan* as the same as *Hadaran*, and equating *nabi* with *Nebo*.—M. A. Reville gives a minute analysis of Professor Tiele's second series of the Gifford Lectures, making use of the Dutch edition. The summary (for this is merely a summary or outline of the contents of each lecture in order) covers thirty-nine pages in small type, and is to be followed by a critical review of the lectures from the same pen.—M. J. Reville gives a summary of the proceedings of the International

Conference of Orientalists held in Rome from the 3rd to the 15th of October, 1899.—A large number of recent works, bearing on the province of Religious History, is reviewed, and the *Chronique* gives a syllabus of the various subjects that are to be treated by the different lecturers in the coming sessions in the *Faculté des Lettres*; in the *Collège de France*; and in the *Musée Guimet*, and also in the *Ecole d'Anthropologie*. Shorter notices are given under this section of other recent publications issued in France, Germany, England, and elsewhere.

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (February, March, April).—The February number opens with a highly technical article on 'L'Energie Sociale et ces mensurations,' from the pen of M. L. Winiarski. His article is one of a series which he has been contributing for some years back to various continental journals with a view probably to their receiving the criticism of experts prior to their being issued together in a volume. He seeks here to show that all action or motion, be it of a biological or social character, is the product or result of material causes just as action or motion of a chemical or physiological character is, and may be measured and expressed by mathematical formulas. All energy in the scientific sense of that term to-day, latent or active, is subject to the laws of 'mechanique,' and is equally indestructible and capable of transformation.—M. M. Evellin & Z. continue their papers on 'L'Infini nouveau.' The previous articles appeared in the pages of this *Revue* in 1898. They seem to have as their object to show that in mathematics there is no such thing as a numerical infinite.—Dr. G. Tardieu continues here, too, his study, begun in the January number, on 'Ennui.' Having illustrated in that number the difficulty of finding and furnishing a definition of the phenomenon in question, he proceeded to enumerate and discuss the physiological and psychological causes of the mental condition denoted by the term. He placed them under six categories, and dealt then with two of them—*exhaustion of mental power and lack of variety in mental occupations*. In this number, and in the March number, he deals with the other four—viz., *thwarted efforts or misdirected activity, monotony, satiety, and the increasing sense of life's vanity, the vanity of its pursuits*.—Dr. Toulouse and M. N. Vaschide conjointly contribute a series of interesting experiments on the sensitiveness of the olfactory nerves of the right and left nostrils, and discuss the results and values of such experiments. The article is titled 'L'Asymétrie sensorielle olfactive.'—(March)—In addition to the continuation of Dr. Tardieu's psychological study on *Ennui* and M. Winiarski's 'L'énergie sociale et ses

mensurations,' described above, we have here a paper by M. A. Lalande on 'Progrès et Destruction,' as witnessed in the evolution or development of life, of society, of all social and political programmes; a critical paper by M. G. Belot on 'La Religion comme principe sociologique,' the subject of the criticism being a series of articles which appeared in the *Année sociologique*, two especially, one by M. Durkheim ('Definition des phénomènes religieux') and one by MM. Hubert et Mauss ('Essai sur la nature et la fonction de sacrifice').—M. Daubresse contributes a paper, 'L'Audition colorée,' based on articles that have appeared in the *Monde musical* under that same title.—(April)—'La sociologie biologique et le régime des castes' (by M. C. Bougle) discusses the question 'Are societies organisms, and subject to the same or similar laws as these latter? Some answer yes, some no, and M. Bougle here places before the latter a series of problems which he desires them to consider.—M. C. Duncan deals with 'La première autonomie mathématique de Kant; and M. Emile Borel with 'L'Autonomie du Transfini.'—Under the heading 'Pour la sociologie et "pro domo,"' Professor Angelo Vaccaro, of the University at Rome, replies to a criticism of his recent work in this *Revue*, 'Les bases sociologiques du droit et de l'état,' by M. Gaston Richard. Among the reviews of books is one on Mr. Andrew Lang's *The Making of Religion*, by M. L. Marillier.

REVUE SEMITIQUE D'EPIGRAPHIE ET D'HISTOIRE ANCIENNE (No. 1, 1900).—M. J. Halévy continues his examination of Deuteronomy in order to bring out its testimony to the traditional theory of the origin of the Pentateuch, and which M. Halévy continues, with some slight modifications, to defend. He adduced in the last number certain laws given in Deuteronomy which he thinks conclusively establishes the priority of P. to D., and the dependence of the latter on the former. Here he brings forward other passages in Deuteronomy which prove the same relationship between these documents. Deuteronomy xii. 15, he says, can have no meaning to a reader who does not know from Leviticus i. and ii., that the gazelle and the hart are not sacrificial animals. The prohibition of blood is based in Deuteronomy xii. 23, on the moral reason that the blood is the life, the soul, of the animal. This is, however, an advance on the idea expressed in Lev. xxii. 27-28, and Exodus xxiii. 19. The last clause of this last verse is the starting point of all the following regulations based on pity for the domestic animals. Lev. xxii. 27-28 shows the intermediary stage, and Deut. xii. 23 the climax of the progress. Deuter-

onomy, therefore, must have been posterior to Leviticus, that is, to the P. In this minute manner does M. Halévy examine the details of Deuteronomy in comparison with what he regards as the earlier documents, and in this way seeks to establish his contention. His examination of Deuteronomy extends to xv. 6. — 'M. C. P. Tiele et la question sumerienne' is the title of M. Halévy's second article. M. Halévy has consistently maintained, in opposition to those who aver that the Cuneiform inscriptions are written in two different dialects, the Sumerien, or pre-Semitic and the Accadian or Semitic, that they are not two dialects, but that the latter is simply an ideo-graphic system of writing, while the so-called Sumerian was the phonetic. His idea has been rejected by a considerable number of eminent Assyriologists. Nothing daunted, M. Halévy continues to maintain and defend his position. He does so again here; and Professor Tiele furnishes him with the opportunity. The latter has been reviewing Professor Jastrow's recent work on the Babylonian Religion in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, and in the course of his review took occasion to fall foul of M. Halévy's theory. M. Halévy begins his article with a parable, which he applies to his opponents, and he singles out M. Tiele as one to whom in one respect it might specially apply. M. Halévy's polemic is nothing if not spirited; and his defence of his position consists chiefly of a renewed explanation of what that position is. He complains that his theory was early misrepresented, and that that misrepresentation is being constantly repeated, though he has taken frequent opportunity of making his theory perfectly clear. He did so in 1889 in the *Revue des Etudes Juives*, and he quotes his explanation given there. M. Tiele, however, reproduces in his article the old misrepresentation, and hence the present paper. As an authority in Assyriological matters, M. Halévy rules M. Tiele out of court. The latter is not, he avers, an Assyriologist at all; and on a matter of this kind it would have become him to have held his tongue. Nevertheless, M. Halévy takes the opportunity which the Leyden Professor has given him, to instruct him and all others, as to what his theory as to the differences in the cuneiform script really is. M. Halévy's third article is entitled, 'Tobie et Akhiakar.' The story of Tobias and that of Akhiakar are related to each other. The latter has attracted a considerable amount of attention recently from the discovery of various versions of it—Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, Greek, etc. Messrs. Conybeare and Harris, with Mrs. A. S. Lewis, published an English translation of it recently, which was made the subject of a scholarly

article in the *Revue des Etudes Juives* (No. 1, 1899). The article before us here is largely critical of M. Reinach's views there given: but it subjects both the apochryphal work, Tobias, and the pseudo-epigraphical, Akhiakar, to a thoroughly critical examination.—His fourth article is a continuation of his series of papers on the Hebrew texts or fragments of Ecclesiasticus.—Another paper from the same prolific pen follows—'Un dernier mot sur la lettre de Simeon de Beit-Arscham.'

LE MUSEON ET LA REVUE DES RELIGIONS (No. 4, 1899).—M. E. Bauvois—'Echos des croyances chretiennes les Mexicains du moyen age et chez d'autres peuples voisins'—deals with the similarities in Mexican beliefs and religious rites, etc., which so perplexed the Spanish monks on their landing there, with those of the Christian Faith. Detailing them, he seeks to explain them as due to some early contact with the ancestors of those races with Christian missionaries. The similarities are certainly difficult otherwise to account for; while time and their earlier beliefs and customs might explain the differences found existing then between them. Their divine Trinity of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, the Son being of a virgin mother, the birth being preceded by a solemn annunciation, and so on, are all referred to by M. Bauvois. The sources from which he here draws his facts are the writings of the Dominican monk, Diego Duran, and the Franciscan Fathers, B. de Sahagun, G. de Mendieta, and J. de Torquemada. Our author has more than once in the pages of this periodical discussed this same and kindred subjects. He does not here commit himself to any precise date for the contact of the Christian teachers with the early Mexicans, Mayas, Chiapanecs, etc., nor fix on any particular region for the supposed contact of the missionaries with them.—M. C. de Vaux continues his summary translation of Al-Gazali's work, his *El-Falasifah*, or Destruction of the Philosophers. In the earlier parts of his abbreviated translation, he gave us his author's refutation of the philosophers' doctrine of the eternity of the world; in this he gives us his refutation of the doctrine of the perpetuity of matter, time, and motion.—M. Aristide Marre continues his translation of the 'Sadjarah Marayon,' giving chapters xxvii. and xxviii. The rest of this number is taken up with reviews of books and the usual *Chronique*.

REVUE DES ÉTUDES JUIVES—(No. 4, 1899).—M. Maurice Holleaux submits a passage in *Josephus* (*Antiquities*, Bk. xii. ch. 3, sect. 155) to a minute critical and historical study in

order to show that readers have hitherto misunderstood its import. The passage has been read as stating that the revenues of Coelo-Syria, after the marriage of Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus III., to Ptolemy V., were divided between Antiochus and Ptolemy. That statement has of course perplexed students of the times. Until very recently, however, it has been accepted as what Josephus had said. M. Holleaux regards that reading as erroneous. Here is a brief summary of his argument in support of his theory. In the immediately preceding clause of the passage in Josephus, it is stated that the provinces named were given by Antiochus to Ptolemy as the dowry of Cleopatra. One would suppose from that that these provinces were at the marriage ceded to Ptolemy, and then passed under his dominion. The arrangement supposed to be described by Josephus becomes consequently wholly inexplicable. It is also unsupported by any other historical source. In the following chapter in Josephus, too, there is not the very slightest indication of the existence of any such division of the tribute of Coelo-Syria. The revenues of these provinces are there mentioned, but nowhere does Antiochus appear as having any share in them, or intromissions in the raising or distribution of them, only Ptolemy and Cleopatra. M. Holleaux finds the key to the solution of the difficulty in the phrase, *οι ἀμφότεροι βασιλεῖς*, which, he thinks, has been persistently misread as the two *kings*, instead of as the two *sovereigns*, viz., Ptolemy and Cleopatra. A little further down in Josephus's narrative this very term *basileis* is applied to Ptolemy and Cleopatra. Why not, he asks, apply it here to them? If that is done everything is perfectly clear. The revenues were to be divided between the husband and the wife, the royal consorts. But was such an arrangement ever made in Egypt? We have no evidence for or against such arrangements. But Antiochus may well have made such independent provision for his daughter. There was nothing to hinder him if he so wished.—M. Israel Levi continues his examination of the recently-discovered fragments of the Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus. It will be remembered that in his previous paper he indicated that further and more minute study of these fragments had convinced him that they did not represent the original text of the work, but was only a translation into Hebrew of a Syriac version. He was at first of opinion with Mr. Schechter and others that they represented the original, and wrote a volume in support of that contention. In these two papers he seeks now to show the opposite. He takes up here his series of proofs where he

halted at the end of his last paper. But he first pauses to notice the more recently-discovered fragments, published by the Rev. G. Margoliouth in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (Oct. 1899). These furnish him, it seems, with fresh evidence for his present conviction. He proceeds then to examine more of the doublets occurring in these fragments, and maintains that these are inexplicable if the fragments represent the text of the original author, while they are perfectly consistent with the work of a translator, whose knowledge of Syriac was indifferent. He does not finish his argument here. It is to be continued.—M. L. Bank has a short paper on 'Les Gens subtils de Pumbeditha.' Pumbeditha was a celebrated rabbinical school, which received its name from its situation at the mouth (*pum*) of the Baditha, a canal connecting the Euphrates and Tigris, not far from the township of Kochi. The heads of the school were surnamed the *Schinnana*, or the sagacious. M. Bank sets himself here to solve a knotty question as to the identity of two leaders of the school, a puzzle arising from the fact of there being more than one rabbi bearing that name.—M. W. Bacher gives an account, under the title of 'Une vieille liste de livres,' of a MS. from the Genizah of Cairo containing a list of books similar to one he himself edited and published in this *Revue* in 1896.—M. O. d'Araujo describes the Great Synagogue of Segovia, and gives a photograph and plan of it. M. D. Kaufmann's collection of letters from Scheschet b. Isaac b. Joseph Benveniste of Saragossa to the princes Kalonymous and Levi de Narbonne is concluded in this number. The other articles are, 'Un recueil de Consultations inédites de rabbins de la France meridionale;' 'L'inventaire du mobilier et de la bibliothèque d'un medecin juif de Majorque;' 'Les Juifs de Tarascon au moyen age;' 'Notes exegetiques on Genesis and other biblical books or passages in them, by M. M. Lambert;' 'Traits apologetique dans la Agada de Samuel b. Nahman,' etc.

REVUE CELTIQUE (Janvier, 1900).—This number is full of attractive reading for those who are interested in the line of studies with which this scholarly *Revue* deals. M. Ferdinand Lot opens it with a paper entitled 'L'épreuve de l'épie et le couronnement d'Arthur par Dubrice a Kaer-Iuden.' The article turns upon the 'Stori yr olew bendigedi,' preserved in the collection of Hengwrt MSS. at Peniarth, a selection from which was published some time ago under the editorship of Messrs. Williams and Hartwell Jones. The main object of M. Lot is to identify Dubrice and Kaer-Iuden. Dubrice he identifies with the 'holy bishop that hight Brice' of a fourteenth

century translation of the story of Merlin and Kaer-Iudeu with Bede's *urbs Giudi* situated on an island in the Firth of Forth, which is generally taken to be the island of Inchkeith. A number of other interesting points are evolved in the course of the article. M. Seymour de Ricci contributes a second article under the title 'Le Calendrier celtique del Coligny.' Since his first article, which appeared in the course of last year, much attention has been directed to the Calendar, and much has been written in connection with it. Here M. Seymour de Ricci passes in review all the opinions that various Celtic scholars have expressed upon it, and then points out the results to which the discussion has led, one of which is that there is not necessity for denying the existence in Gaul of a certain number of different languages. This results from the fact that the Calendar is written in a language which is neither Celtic, Greek, nor Latin, but which seems to resemble that of the Ligures. But opinion in this point differs, some holding that the language of the Calendar is that of the Sequani.—M. J. Loth provides the next article, which has for its title, 'Remarques sur les vieux poemes historiques gallois.' The article has been suggested to him while preparing his edition of the Black Book of Carmarthen, in which the text is to be accompanied with translation, notes, and glossary.—M. G. Dottin continues his 'Studies of Irish Phonetics' with the subtitle, 'Les groupes de consonnes.'—A charming paper follows on 'Les croissants d'or islandais.' The author is M. S. Reinach, and is full of antiquarian information in connection with these relics of antiquity in which the Dublin Museum is specially rich.—The 'Bibliographie' notices but one book, but that book is M. d'Arbois de Jubainville's 'La civilisation des Celtes et celle del épopée homérique.' The notice is by M. P. le Nestour. As usual, the Chronique is rich in information on matters connected with Celtic studies.

REVUE ARCHEOLOGIQUE (No. 1, 1900).—To this number M. d'Arbois de Jubainville contributes a singularly instructive article on 'Les bas-reliefs Gallo-romains du Musée de Cluny.' The article forms part of the lecture which its author delivered at the opening of a course of lectures on the Celtic language and literature at the College of France in the beginning of last December. One of the bas-reliefs is on one of the faces of a quadrangular altar. It is the figure of a bull, below which are the figures of three birds; the legend is *Tarvos Trigaranos*. A bas-relief of Treves represents the same subject—three birds accompanying a bull's head. Another has for its subject Cuchulainn cutting down in order to bar the

way along which the war chariots of his enemies are to force their way, and the name *kus* inscribed below it. Several others are mentioned, notably one with the inscription *Smer-tullos*. By an ingenious but thoroughly convincing description M. d'Arbois de Jubainville connects the whole of the bas-reliefs with the story of Cuchulainn as it occurs in the oldest MS. of the *Tain bo Cuailngi*, and concludes by saying that as close a parentage exists between the mythology of Ireland and of Gaul as between the druidism of the one country and the art of the other, and that here the archæology of Gaul is in accordance with Celtic literature.

LES NOMS DE LIEU DANS LE CARTULAIRE DE GELLONI is a note read before the Academy of Inscriptions by the same author. The chartulary in question is especially rich in charters of the eleventh century, and deserves to be regarded as one of the principal sources for the study of the historical geography not only of the department of Hérault in which Gellone—or, as it is now called, Saint Guillem-du-Desert, but also of the neighbouring departments. The district in which the department is situated was at one time, the author points out, inhabited by a mixed population of Ligures and Iberians. About the year 300 B.C., they were probably joined by the Celts, who remained masters of the country till the foundation of the colony of Narbonne in 118 B.C. Traces of the Roman domination M. d'Arbois de Jubainville finds in abundance in the place names furnished by the charters. Among these too are numerous traces of the influence of the language of the Celts and of the Ligures as well.

HOLLAND.

DE GIDS.—(Feb.)—In a very able article Prof. H. Krabbe advocates the preservation of Constitutional Monarchy, considering it as a transition stage to sovereignty of the people. He sketches the process in England, and shows how it suffered shipwreck in France, and what is the German dogma of constitutional monarchy. Lastly, he treats of Holland, insisting on the political necessity of guaranteeing popular sovereignty while the crown is retained.—Prof. A. G. Van Hamel, under the title of 'Poet-Silhouettes,' treats of Maurice Maeterlinck and his creations.—'The Last Incarnation,' by Henri Borel, is a peculiarly vivid sketch of a Japanese Mousmé, very weird and strange.—'Through the Dead Cities of Flanders,' by Mr. S. Muller Fz., gives his impressions in a pleasant way of St. Bave, Yperen, Veurne, Bruges, and Damme.—In 'On the Threshold of the New Century,' Byvanck gives merely an introduction to a series of

articles, chiefly scientific and social, on the Nineteenth Century.—(March)—Begins with 'Grueten Broos,' by Cyriel Buysse, a clever delineation of peasant life in which brutality and pathos are equally mingled.—'The "Debt of Honour" in Parliament,' by C. T. van Deventer, refers to the financial relations between Holland and the Dutch Indies.—'Guiseppe Venanzio,' by W. G. van Nonhuys, treats especially of the Italian's *Giovani* (youths), in the style of Ibsen's 'Peer Gynt,' with a little too much of Dionysaic fervour, yet a work of great promise and genius. Copious translations are given.—'The Draft of the Sanitation Law,' by Dr. W. Jenny Weijerman, comes to the conclusion that it might have been worse, and with a few suggested alterations may even prove of use.—'New Literary Life in Greece,' by Dr. Hesselings, is a confession that that life is still very weak, as is shown by the early decease of a new periodical, *Techni*.—'Silence is Golden,' by a Free Stater, is a curious sort of fairy tale given in the language of the *Africander Boers*, and said to be current among them. The language—Dutch, with a dash of English and Kaffir—is, perhaps, more interesting than the tale.—(April)—'Orpheus in the Dessa,' by Augusta de Wit, the tale of a magic flute in a Japanese village, is prettily told and has been already translated into German.—'Novel Developments in Criminal Science,' by Prof. D. Simons, is an able article on the subject, with special reference to the reform of criminal law in Holland, yet always based on general principles of psychology which should everywhere determine the treatment of criminals.—'An Ascent of Mont Blanc,' by G. Vissering, is a long, minute account of a very common-place excursion, adventurous, no doubt, to Dutchmen, who are not famous as mountaineers.—'Rabelais' Laugh,' by Prof. van Hamel, is a most interesting paper on the grotesque, the comic, and the humourous, from various points of view, and as illustrated by the great satirist.

THEOLOGISCH TIJDSCHRIFT.—(March)—Dr. J. C. Matthes writes a very interesting and, we may say, important paper on 'Mourning and the worship of the dead in Israel.' Our readers will remember our reporting quite recently a paper by the same scholar on the notion of purity in Israel, in which the view was maintained that 'impure' meant originally, disqualified for the service of Jehovah, and that this disqualification arose in many cases, if not most, from contact with other worships, and specially with the worship of the dead, which, while apparently suppressed in Israel, yet survived in many a popular practice and belief. The present paper is written to show that the signs of

mourning in Israel, tearing one's clothes, putting ashes on one's head, abstinence from washing and anointing, are all in their origin religious usages, and point back to an early worship of the dead as gods. A further paper is promised in which other practices connected with mourning, fasting, the funeral feast, etc., will be treated in the same manner.—The number concludes with a notice of the death of Martineau, in which a study of that great leader of thought is promised for a future number.

SWITZERLAND.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE UNIVERSELLE.—The April number opens with an excellent article from the pen of M. J. Villarais, having for its title '*Anglais et Boers au sud de l'Afrique.*' The author is of opinion that much of the feeling on the Continent against Great Britain, if not the whole of it, is purely sentimental, and due to an almost complete ignorance of what are really the facts of the case. He traces the history of the Boer Republics and Britain's attitude towards them, and is by no means sure that victory for the Boers would be to the good of humanity. Each, he says, is naturally free to give his sympathy to whichever side he pleases; but on the one side is the past, the pretended 'good old times,' with its slaveries and half-unconscious cruelties; on the other hand is the reign of justice, equality for all before the law, open doors, the gradual elevation of an entire race as numerous as the people who have deprived them of their possessions, and who have a right to demand that in exchange for these they shall be assured of the benefits of a true civilization.—M. Delines continues his descriptive pages under the title of '*Le Village Chinois,*' both in this and in the following number; while in each of the three numbers of the quarter, under the general title of '*En Plein air,*' M. T. Combe discourses on the '*Histoires de petits bergers.*'—The February number also contains '*L'homme aux grandes altitudes,*' over the signature of M. C. Bühner, and the second part of M. E. Bovet's '*Les conditions présentes de l'Italie.*'—'*La princesse Désirée,*' by Clementina Black, is begun, and M. F. Mailer contributes '*Jamnè, ou de mauvais œil.*'—The March number gives the first place to a criticism, by M. Paul Stapfer, on Victor Hugo as a poet. The title of the article is '*Lois de l'imagination poétique et satirique de Victor Hugo.*'—The editor, M. Ed. Tallichet, contributes a paper on '*La guerre du Transvaal et l'Europe,*' in which he argues in favour of British supremacy, and points to the development of the gold fields and the corrupting influence of gold as the real motive, on the part of the Boers, for the war.—The other con-

tents of the number, with the exception of the 'Chroniques,' are continuations.—The April number opens with an extremely interesting article over the signature of M. Albert Bonnard, with the title 'Journaux et journalistes,' in which the distinguishing characteristics of the newspaper press of the different countries are described.—Another attractive and informing piece in this number is 'Les universités populaires de Paris,' from the pen of M. Th. Jaulmea.—An unusual feature for this *Revue* in this number is a theological article, by M. E. Murisier, who, under the title 'Une apologie du Théisme,' reviews Professor Campbell Fraser's Gifford Lectures on 'The Philosophy of Theism.'—The Chroniques in each number are as usual full and attractively written.

AMERICA.

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW (January, 1900).—A very readable article is contributed by Mr. Edward Eggleston on 'Some curious Colonial Remedies.' The article is apparently a chapter from a volume about to be published under the title, 'The Transit of Civilisation.' Whether the remedies can claim to be 'Colonial' is doubtful. Most of them were in vogue in Europe. However, the chapter is entertaining, and augurs well for the volume.—Mr. Bernard C. Steiner continues his elaborate paper on 'Maryland's Adoption of the Federal Constitution,' and Mr. Frank M. Anderson supplies the second and apparently concluding instalment of his 'Contemporary Opinion of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions.'—An article of special interest to American readers, probably to politicians, is Mr. M. Ostrogorski's 'The Rise and Fall of the Nominating Caucus, Legislative and Congressional.'—The 'Documents' section contains some interesting papers in connection with Cartwright and Melville during their residence in Geneva, and numerous extracts from the Diary of Philip Fithian, kept at Nomini Hall, Virginia, 1773-74.—The numerous book notices are as usual well done, and in some cases sharply critical. The section 'Notes and News' is full and informing, though some items are a little belated.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland. Edited and Abridged by DAVID MASSON, etc. Second Series. Vol. I., A.D. 1625-1627. Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh. 1899.

Students of Scottish history will learn with regret that this volume, though the first in a new series, is the last that will be issued under the able direction of Professor Masson. During the twenty years he has been connected with the Scottish Privy Council Register he has done splendid work, both by the judiciousness of his selections, and by the admirable introductions he has prefixed to the volumes he has edited. His successor, Dr. Hume Brown, is well known for his large acquaintance with the literature of Scottish history, especially with that of the Reformation, and by his two singularly able works on Knox and Buchanan. One may therefore at least hope, with a considerable amount of confidence, that the traditions Professor Masson has established, and so admirably illustrated in connection with the Register of the Privy Council, will be thoroughly sustained. The period covered by the present volume is the first twenty-seven months of the reign of Charles I. For some reason or other these months have all but escaped the attention of historians. The events that happened in them, however, are of very considerable importance, and the information, which is here published for the first time, is essential to the thorough understanding of some of the things that happened in Scotland at a later period. On the 9th of April, 1620, Charles had been vested by his father with 'the power of full administration, government, and handling of his affairs,' as Prince of Scotland, and for the five years before he came to the throne they had been managed for him by what was known as the Prince's Council, a body which, though distinct from the King's Privy Council, was in the main composed of persons selected from it. Its president was the Earl of Melrose, Secretary of State and President of the Court of Session, and along with him were Sir George Hay, Chancellor and Premier, together with the great officers of State, the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, four bishops, a number of nobles not holding offices of State, and certain lairds and lawyers—in all, forty-six. At the meeting of the Privy Council on the 31st, 1625, the first of the meetings here noticed, a letter was read from Charles, dated March 27, the very day on which his father died, intimating that it was his pleasure 'that matters in that kingdom, aswell concerning justice as policie, sall continue and goe forward in the same course wherein they now ar,' and in a series of documents coming down to the 15th of April this general resolution was confirmed in all requisite details by instructions as to new seals and signets, and by a definite edict that the Privy Council and all other magistrates throughout Scotland should continue in their offices until further notice. So far all seemed well; there was nothing to indicate that anything of importance in the way of change was contemplated. Between the middle of April and the middle of the following June the Council was largely depleted. Chancellor Hay, Secretary Melrose, Archbishop Spotswood, and others, had been summoned up to London to consult on Scot-

tish affairs, and many other members of the Council had gone up for the double purpose perhaps of paying their respects to the new King, and attending the funeral of James. In the absence of Melrose, Lord Carnegie, an ordinary Lord of Session, acted as President. The chief piece of business that arose during his presidency was the suppression of the rebellion of the Clan Ian, a section of the Macdonalds, now chiefly memorable as the first service rendered to Charles I. by Lord Lorne, afterwards the great Earl and Marquess of Argyll. Among other matters which came before the temporarily attenuated Council was the case of Mr. Dunbar, the non-conforming minister of Ayr, who was charged to fulfil his previous sentence by going into banishment in Ireland, the settlement of a long standing dispute as to proprietary rights on the shore of the Firth of Forth, and the precautions to be taken against a plague-infected ship lately arrived in Leith Roads, a reminder that 'the Plague, the periodical scourge of Europe in those days, had been in various parts of Britain for some months before the death of King James, and that its dark shadow still overhung the island.' Melrose returned and resumed the presidency of the Council on the 21st May, to be relieved of it on the 12th of July by Chancellor Hay. Down to the month of July nothing of importance occurred, but on the 26th of that month an Act was passed by the Council of a quite peculiar character. It authorised and required the setting up of Parish Courts in all landward parishes, to consist of persons to be nominated by the parish ministers, and to act as justices of the peace by commission under his Majesty's signet, with powers to put in force the Acts of Parliament against fornication, drunkenness, profane swearing, rioting to the disturbance of divine service, obstinacy under excommunication, neglect of the rule to have a Bible and a Psalm Book in every household, vagrancy, sturdy begging, etc. The Courts were to have the usual rights of judicatories to appoint their meetings, create offices, summon witnesses, try by juries, etc., and were to be vested with power to inflict pecuniary penalties on offenders. The object of this remarkable Act was apparently to substitute for the Kirk Sessions more effective judicatories armed with whips of civil penalties in aid of ecclesiastical censures for the offences described. Nothing more, however, is heard of this Act in the present volume. The commissions for which the Act provided were to be for a year only, and the probability is that the Act, like not a few others of those days, never came into operation. But those who were in the secret knew that a document of much more importance, and one which was to prove an apple of discord, if not to be the undoing of the King in Scotland, was in preparation. The news of its preparation had been sent to Edinburgh on the 17th of May, by Mr. Gilbert Primrose, who, when writing to his father, the veteran Clerk of the Council, whose successor he hoped to be, had said: 'His Lordship [Melrose] hes lykewayes gevin young Durie and me charge to draw up the Kingis Revocation, quhilk we haif done.' These words, as Professor Masson observes, 'were words of fear to all to whom the Clerk of the Council might report them.' The obvious explanation, as Professor Masson puts it, is that 'by the feudal law, as understood in Scotland, the sovereign had the right, at any time between his attaining the full age of twenty-one and the completion of his twenty-fifth year, to revoke and annul all grants and gifts that had been passed during his minority, or even retrospectively beyond that in certain cases, to the detriment of the properties and revenues of the Crown,' and that such a revocation was about to be made. Revocations of the kind had not been infrequent in Scottish history, and one by Charles at the beginning of his reign would be no new thing. The chief anxiety was as to its terms, but

of these nothing was known until the 21st of July, when the document was forwarded and read before the Council, and its formal registration in the Council Books by the King's Advocate, Sir William Oliphant, desired. It terms itself a 'General Revocation,' and, though apparently explicit enough, some doubt was felt as to its precise scope and significance, but the interpretation generally put upon it was that it was intended to revoke only such grants as affected the estates and revenues of the Principality. On the 12th October, a fortnight before the meeting of the Convention of Estates, Charles caused his Revocation to become law, by passing it on that day through the Privy Seal—a fact which appears to have been kept secret from all the Councillors. No record of it has been found, but there can be no doubt about it, as it is referred to in an Act of Parliament of 1633. Nor is any copy of the document as it thus passed the Privy Seal known to exist, though from a letter addressed to the King by twelve Councillors, it would appear to have been very different from that which Sir W. Oliphant had presented on the 21st July. The view which the Councillors signing the letter took of the document as it passed the Privy Seal was sufficiently serious. 'Touching that Revocation,' they say, 'which has been kept so obscure, as none as yet has seen the same, the fear which is generally apprehended thereupon by all your Majesty's subjects of this kingdom is so unusual and great, and so heavily grudged and murmured at, as nothing has at any time heretofore occurred which has so far disquieted the minds of your good subjects, and possessed them with apprehensions and fears of the consequences thereof, as if all their former securities granted by your Majesty and your royal Progenitors were thereby intended to be annulled, and that no right hereafter to be made in the majority of Kings could be valid; which we are persuaded is far from your Majesty's royal purpose and intention. And, however projects have been made unto your Majesty of lawful and great gain by this Revocation, we are of opinion that the gain shall not prove answerable to the overture, and that the trouble of your Majesty's subjects is more than all that by law can follow upon that Revocation, except so far as concerns the Principality, which by cause of law and justice will subsist, according to your former Revocation made thereof.' On the 26th January His Majesty found it necessary to issue a proclamation explanatory of the Edict, in order to allay the discontent it had caused. Two months later the Privy Council was re-organised, probably with a view to facilitate the purposes the King entertained with respect to Scotland. That he had distinct and thoroughly formulated schemes in respect to Scottish affairs is manifest all through the present volume, and nothing is more remarkable than the tenacity with which he held to them. For some months after the re-constitution of the Council, nothing is heard of the Revocation. But on the 21st of July, 1626, a royal letter was received for registration and proclamation, which bore: 'Howsoever we haif maid our Revocation after the maner that our prædecessours had formarie done, we doe certifie and declair by these præsentis that we doe intend to make no benefite thairof by extending it any further then onlie againis Erectionis and other Dispositionis whatsomevir of Landis, Teyndis, Patronageis, Benefices, formarie belonging to the Churches, and since annexed to the Crowne, and againis Dispositionis of Lands and Benefices mortified and devoted to pious uses, and of Regalities and Heretable Offices, and againis the change of holding is since the yeir of God, 1540, from the ancient tenour of Warde and Reliefe to Blenshe and Taxt Warde.' The letter goes on to say that though His Majesty might proceed at once to recovery of the unjustly acquired properties or powers specified, without respect to the harm that might result to the holders thereof, he was disposed to act more clemently,

and had therefore appointed Commissioners to treat and arrange terms of composition with all who might before the 1st of January next voluntarily surrender any rights they have or claim to have of the kind described. A month elapsed and no surrenders were made, and on August 22 an action at law was begun by His Majesty against all within the compass of the Revocation Edict, by what is known as a 'summons of reduction.' The summons charged all concerned to appear and bring with them and produce all charters and infestments whereby they held lands and baronies, kirks, teinds, etc., appertaining to any Abbacy, Priory, etc., together with 'all infestments of Heretable Offices or Regalities of whatsoever date.' A Proclamation was also made in September, 1626, that certain Commissioners appointed by His Majesty would meet on the first Wednesday of the following November to receive surrender of rights affected by the Edict, but the meeting was not held. On the other hand, however, meetings were held during the month in Edinburgh of the nobles and lairds most affected by the Edict, and two deputations were sent to lay their case before the King, with the result that a new Commission was appointed, which practically gave the Revocation a new start, and was known as the Commission for Surrenders of Superiorities and Lands. The Commissioners began their sittings on 1st March, 1627, and sat to the end of June, the date at which this volume closes. They directed their attention to the Teinds, on the reform of which the King had set his mind. Surrenders also began to drop in upon them. As for the resolutions come to by the Commissioners respecting the teinds, we must refer the reader to Professor Masson's remarkably lucid introduction. The subject is too large and too technical to enter upon here, and would require for its explanation considerably more space than is here available. Besides, the Commissioners, during the months covered by this volume, treated but a part of the matters referred to them. As time went on their actings became of vastly increased importance, and may be said to have eventually wrecked the King's cause in Scotland. The other matters referred to in the volume are of a very miscellaneous character. Some of them are of great importance in reference to the social life of the country, while others of them throw light upon the history of the Court of Session, and upon that of the municipal organisations of the time. The volume, in fact, is replete with valuable information, and sheds a flood of light upon a little known period. In conclusion, we can only add that too much praise can hardly be given to the two really valuable sections in the Introduction, intitled respectively 'An Account of the State of the Scottish Church Lands and Revenues before the Reformation,' and 'A History of those Lands and Revenues from the Reformation to the year 1625.' In these Professor Masson has brought together a mass of information which, so far as known to us, has never been brought together before. The sections will serve to dissipate a number of mistakes, and to clear up some vexed and complicated and little understood questions in connection with the lands of the Church in Scotland.

Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland. Edited by Sir JAMES BALFOUR PAUL, F.S.A., Scot., Lord Lyon King of Arms. Vol. II., A.D. 1500-1504. Edinburgh: H.M. Register House. 1900.

The first volume of the Lord High Treasurer's Accounts, which is now out of print, was published as far back as the year 1877. In the same year was published the first volume of the Register of the Privy Council, and no

fewer than fifteen volumes of it have since been issued ; but twenty-three years have had to pass before so much as the second volume of the Lord High Treasurer's Accounts has been allowed to appear, notwithstanding the proved value of the first volume as a source of materials for the history of Scotland. The delay has been due, we are told, to various reasons. The first volume was edited by Dr. Dickson, who, under the rules of the service, retired some years ago from the post he so admirably filled of Curator of the Historical Department of the General Register House. The introduction which he wrote for that volume was, and is still, considered a remarkable piece of work, and of the utmost value to the study of Scottish history. Much recondite information was brought to light, and many things which might be said respecting future volumes of the Accounts were anticipated. The Editor of the present volume is Sir James Balfour Paul, and now that the obstacles have been removed, and the veto of the Government against the publication of further volumes rescinded, it is to be hoped that the public will be put in possession of the information the Accounts contain with as little delay as possible. The present volume is valuable both on account of the introduction prepared for it by Sir James Balfour Paul and on account of the light which the entries of the Treasurer or his clerks throw upon the then condition of the country and the domestic life of the King. The first volume closes with the Accounts of May, 1498. From that date until February, 1500-1, when Sir Robert Lundy of Balgonie was Treasurer, no accounts are known to exist. The present volume covers the period from February, 1500-1, down to 9th February, 1504-5, and contains the Accounts of David Beaton of Creich, the Treasurer for the time and brother of James, Abbot of Dunfermline, his successor in the office. Though varying in certain details, his Accounts bear a general resemblance to those given in the first volume. Singularly enough, while the Accounts of Charge are there almost invariably given in the vernacular, they are here always in Latin. The Accounts of Discharge are here not so carefully classified as are those of Sir William Knolleys or Abbot Schaw in the earlier years. The Treasury Clerks make the same kind of mistakes as those pointed out in the earlier volume. The items are not always inserted in their proper chronological order, and a series of entries is sometimes given under a single date, though they must in reality have been spread over a longer period. Sir James traces out the itinerary of the restless king, following him from place to place, and here and there correcting from other sources the entries of the Treasurer's clerks. The King's character has given rise to much discussion, but on reading over the entries one cannot help feeling, Sir James remarks, that 'they deal with a very gracious personality.' 'James,' he continues, 'had all that charm of manner which was so characteristic of the Stewart race, and in this, as in the previous volume, many instances are to be found which illustrate his accessibility to the humblest of his subjects and the affectionate loyalty which he inspired in them. He has been styled the Paladin of Romance, and certainly he was chivalrous to a fault ; fond of all manly exercises, we can follow him from end to end of his kingdom, flashing like a brilliant meteor to and fro ; we find him hunting and hawking, shooting with the bow and arrow, playing golf and tennis, and in the long winter evenings amusing himself with song and dance, playing-cards, and chess. Nor did he neglect more serious pursuits : full of "intelligent curiosity," he threw himself with ardour into the study of chemistry, feebly represented as it was in his day by the empirical science of alchemy ; at a time when few men outside the clerical profession interested themselves in literature at all, the King's library contained many volumes both of classical and theological subjects. He was an accomplished linguist,

and evidently made a most pleasing impression on all with whom he came in contact, as we may judge by the laudatory terms in which Ayala, the Spanish Ambassador, wrote about him.' That there was another side to his character, Sir James fully admits, but suggests that perhaps too much has been made of it by many of his historians. He holds, and here he is supported by manifold entries in the Accounts, that James was a devoted son of the Church, and believes that it is not too much to say that in no other reign of the Stewart Kings was Scotland so well governed or the factious and turbulent nobles so well kept in hand. 'With a little more ballast of character,' he writes, 'and a little less imagination, James, the gentle, the gallant, and the chivalrous, might have been enrolled in the annals of history as a great king.' When the Accounts open the King has just returned from Glasgow to Stirling Castle, where he is interesting himself in the new garden there being laid out, reading certain 'prentit bukis bocht' of 'ane Franchman callit Bertholomo,' and playing chess, at which, on February 15th, he loses fourteen shillings. The 'prentit bukis' were the *Vita Christi major et minor*, Quintilian, Virgil's *Bucolics* and *Georgics*, and a work by Hugo de St. Clare, who, about the close of the fifteenth century wrote notes (*postille*) on the Bible. On the 17th of February James was at Perth, attending the 'heaving' or baptism of a son of the Earl of Buchan. Easter was kept as usual at Edinburgh, and there are entries respecting the distribution of the Maunday dole and the alms clothing for the King's bedesmen. 'The King lap on hors' at Stirling on April 8th, and rode all the way to Edinburgh. Twelve days later he set off to Whithorn, and went there by way of Dumfries and Kirkeudbright. He returned by Ayr and Glasgow, and was in Stirling by the 26th. In July he was at the Castle of Threave, where chamber hangings were sent for his comfort, five shillings being paid for the hire of a horse to convey them. On September 12th he was playing cards 'at the Kyrk of Balquhiddy,' when he lost eighteen shillings, or at anyrate received that sum to play with. The next day some women of the neighbourhood made him a present of butter. He then passed to Strathfillan, and remained till the 18th, hunting on Benmore during the day, and listening in the evenings to 'Heland bardis,' who got five shillings for their trouble, and 'the samiyn Robert' got fourteen shillings 'to by thaim met.' The next month Commissioners were dispatched to carry through his espousals to the Princess Margaret of England. Indications of the excitement caused by the marriage in Scotland are present through a great part of the volume. The King himself shared the excitement, and in his determination to make as brave a show as possible at the reception of the Princess on this side of the border, spent, poor as he was, a considerable sum of money, more, perhaps, than he could well afford. Many entries bear witness to his lavish expenditure. But after all, when they met, his own appearance scarcely met with his royal bride's approval. His beard was not in the approved fashion, and he had not been a Benedict for a day before an alteration was made upon it, as we learn from the following entry:— 'The ix day of August, after the marriage, for xv elne claiith of gold to the Countess of Surry of Ingland, quhen sche and her dochtir Lady Gray clippit the Kingis berd, ilk elne xxij li—summa j' lxxx li.' Lady Gray got fifteen ells of 'damas gold,' at a cost of £180. This was probably, as the Editor remarks, the largest barber's fee on record. While a bachelor the King could move about lightly. Most, if not all, of his journeys were made on horseback, and his baggage was light. After his marriage no less than twenty-three carts were required to carry the Queen's baggage, at a cost of £20 14s. for their hire, besides a pack-horse for small articles. On the occasion referred to the King's baggage was carried by a single horse.

Scattered throughout the volume are many entries regarding jewels, dresses, and robes of state. The prices paid for a vast number of presents are also entered. The King's fondness for music and other modes of amusement comes out on nearly every page. Lutes, fithulars, gysaris, dancers, acrobats, and actors are frequently referred to. The Accounts also testify to the King's eagerness to become the possessor of a navy. His interest in chemistry or alchemy is shown by the numerous entries in connection with the Abbot of Tunland, who, besides trying to find out the elixir of life, invented a flying machine, the failure of which is noted by Dunbar. The chief amusements of the King were hunting and hawking. From some of the entries he appears to have indulged in a round at golf, notwithstanding the Act against it. The information which the volume gives about the private life of the King is, in short, almost endless. Here, as in the previous volume, the Accounts have been somewhat abridged. In future volumes the process may be carried still further, but under the skillful editorship of Sir James Balfour Paul there is little chance of anything of importance being left out. For the present volume, as much almost for the introduction as for the text, all students of Scottish history will thank him.

Calendar of the State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary Queen of Scots, 1547-1603. Preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and Elsewhere in England. Edited by JOSEPH BAIN. Vol. II., A.D. 1593-1569. Edinburgh: H.M. Register House. 1900.

This volume covers a period of close on seven years. The papers it contains relate chiefly to the attempts on the part of Elizabeth to commit Mary to an alliance with one of her own favourites, on the pretence that with him the reversion of the English crown would be settled on her, to Mary's ill-fated union with Darnley, to the joint reign of the ill-matched couple, ended by Darnley's murder, to Mary's hasty marriage with Bothwell, the rising of the Confederate Lords, followed by her imprisonment and deposition, her escape, her defeat at Langside, and her flight to England. The evidence of Elizabeth's selfishness and lack of truth is here continued, and it is not a little amusing to find her warning Mary not to have two strings to her bow, and saying that she does not love or practice duplicity, while all the time her practice was just the reverse, and at times she has so many strings to her own bow that it is somewhat difficult to make out what she would be after. The least that can be said of her policy is that it was crooked. So crooked was it that at times it was obscure to her own partisans, and they had to ask her to be more explicit. One of her proposals was mean. She had asked and obtained Mary's licence for Lennox to return to Scotland on his private affairs, but afterwards, on pretence that his return might offend some of her partisans in Scotland, she caused Cecil and Randolph to write to Murray and Lethington to move Mary in secret to stay his return for a year. Murray and Lethington had more respect for honesty of purpose than she had, and flatly refused to have anything to do with her request. As to the marriage, she presumed to dictate to her equal, specifying certain royal houses into which the Scottish Queen might not marry, and commanding Randolph, as of himself, to indicate the person she preferred, set down in her own handwriting, showing her reason for preferring Dudley, though he is not named. That she was able to do anything of this sort without the risk of war was owing to the fact that she had numerous partisans in the

country, if not in her pay. Amongst her supporters was Knox, who lifted up his protestation, denounced any foreign match, and assured Cecil that he daily thirsts for death. He wrote also to Dudley as to a patron of pure religion, complaining that the nobility in Scotland were 'waxen cold' in their zeal, and that in England great superstition was maintained, and vain ceremonies required, and hinting, not obscurely, that they were favoured by Elizabeth—'not doubting in whom this fault consisteth.' Elizabeth's proposal of Dudley, when he was at last distinctly named, was received in Scotland with surprise, and when asked to give undoubted security for all the promises with which her proposal was accompanied, she admitted to Cecil that she was 'in a labyrinth.' Her dealings all through the marriage negotiations afford, indeed, a clear illustration of her character, and show that duplicity was the controlling spirit of her policy. They show, too, that her settled determination was to give Mary no peace. After the Darnley marriage she fomented discontent among Mary's subjects, and assured them, through Randolph, of her support. The paper in which Knox and Craig are enumerated among those consenting to the death of Riccio is here printed. Its value or trustworthiness has been called in question, and the controversy it occasioned when discovered by Tytler has recently been renewed. Mr. Bain, however, is not prepared to say that it is 'an unauthenticated scrap of paper.' The paper here printed, he says, 'is in official writing of the time, indorsed, moreover, in the well-known hand of Cecil's clerk, and is certainly genuine. The indorsement,' he continues, 'bears that the (persons within) "were assenting to the death of David." The names of Knox and Craig follow those of the actual conspirators or murderers, but it is not said that these two men were present.' The question is, were they privy to the conspiracy? or did they in any way consent to the deed? On this point Mr. Bain, not without reason, says:—'It cannot be doubted that the rumour of such a design, in which their chief friends, Murray, Glencairn, etc.—Knox's own father-in-law, Ochiltree, among them—were concerned, must have been floating in the air of Edinburgh.' The other papers deal with the tragedy of the Kirk of Field, Mary's marriage with Bothwell, the rising of the nobles, Mary's imprisonment and escape, the battle of Langside, the flight to England, and Elizabeth's treatment of her royal cousin down to the year 1569. As need hardly be said they are full of materials for the history of the period, and throw not a little light on the characters of the leading personages of the time. Mary's innocence or guilt is a thorny question, but no higher eulogy has been pronounced upon her than that which is here given of her by her first goaler, Sir Francis Knollys; and, as Mr. Bain remarks, the woman who could inspire such devotion as is here evidenced in such men as Lord Herries and Boyd and the Bishop of Ross (two Protestants and a Catholic) must have possessed most attractive qualities. Though sorely tempted, she stood firmly by the religion in which she had been brought up, and cannot be accused, like Elizabeth, of being a trimmer; still less can she be accused of anything like the treachery with which she was treated by her cousin of England. Murray's character does not appear here, notwithstanding his consistency, altogether unsoiled. If Randolph may be believed, he was a party to the assassination of Riccio though not an actor in it, and he made two attempts to prejudice the decision of Elizabeth's commissioners on the question of Mary's guilt or innocence before the case came regularly before them at York, by getting their private opinions on copies of the letters, etc., in her handwriting, afterwards publicly produced at Westminster. His subserviency to Elizabeth is amusing, and has justly laid him open to the charge of lack of patriotism. After taking office as Regent, when writing to Elizabeth

he signed himself 'James Stewart,' but when writing to Cecil, often on the same day, he used the official form, 'James Regent.' On one occasion when writing to Elizabeth having began 'Regent,' he altered it to his surname. Mr. Bain has printed in an appendix the nineteen holograph letters of Mary to Elizabeth while in England for the period of this volume—all of which with one exception are now in the British Museum; and in another the small relics of the celebrated Casket Letters, 'which are copies of translations of the long lost originals,' with Morton's account of their discovery.

The History of Edward the Third (1327-1377). By JAMES MACKINNON, Ph.D. London, etc.: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1900.

The reign of Edward III. deservedly ranks among the greatest in English history. Whatever may be thought of his foreign policy there can be no doubt that for close on fifty years he was the central figure in Europe, and raised England out of the abject condition into which it had fallen during the reign of his predecessor. Nor was it without its effects at home. There it started great issues, and made his reign one of the most important in the constitutional history of the country. His necessities were the opportunities of the people, who were far from slack in taking advantage of them. In many ways his reign is deserving of separate treatment, and Mr. Mackinnon, who has already done good work by his *History of the Union of England and Scotland*, has done well to select it. The materials for the study of the reign have been accumulating for some time, and though the reader may not entirely agree with the author on many points, no one can deny his claim to have gone direct to such original sources as he was acquainted with, and made ample use of them. His numerous footnotes are a sufficient proof of the labour he has expended upon his pages, while the latter afford abundant evidence of the skill with which he has rifled the pages of Froissart, Baker, and other chroniclers of the time, and reconciled these often conflicting statements. In the reign of Edward III. Dr. Mackinnon seems to have found a more congenial theme even than the *Union of England and Scotland*. He writes with a lighter touch, and has evidently developed a new style. It is, perhaps, more picturesque, but scarcely original or satisfactory. Here and there it reminds us of a style we have been accustomed to for some time. The following passage, for instance, is more in the style of Carlyle than in that of the *Union of England and Scotland*:—
'The march in quest of Glory presents a sorry spectacle of savage excess, over which we at all events shall not blow the patriotic trumpet. Disgustingly brutal and reckless is this barbarous method of settling a quarrel, which, after all, concerns only the two individuals who happen to be Kings of France and England, and who consign whole provinces to destruction because they cannot agree on a mere point of genealogy. Once more, what a fool of a world is this misguided fourteenth century. Clearly lunatic, and, as is always the case with lunatics, unconscious of the fact. Otherwise we should not find sanguinary clerics ascribing to "our Lord" the honour of such savage orgies, and giving thanks to God accordingly. Heigho! what a perverted moral sense sometimes lurks under stole and tunic.' There is much more of this sort of preaching in the volume. In the opening sentence of his preface Dr. Mackinnon says, 'In writing this work I have limited myself to the investigation of contemporary evidence.' Here and there, often indeed, one is disposed to wish he had. Here and there his reflections get mixed up with his facts, and one is at a

loss at times to distinguish fact from reflection. When he sets himself to tell the story of the reign one is rather charmed by the simplicity and picturesqueness of his style. His description of Edward's retreat beyond the Somme, and the battle of Crecy, has seldom been surpassed. The same may be said of his account of the last days of Jacques d'Artevelde. Or take his accounts of Edward's dealings with his Parliaments, or of the conduct of the Archbishop of Canterbury. These one has no difficulty in following: on the contrary, they are as luminous as the battle pieces, whether the battles be on sea or land. As might be expected the author is no apologist for Edward. His strictures upon his character and policy are severe enough, but they will scarcely commend themselves to those who realise or make allowance for the spirit of the times in which Edward lived, and do not judge him by the standard of the nineteenth century, as Dr. Mackinnon does. All the same the work is valuable for what facts it brings to light and for its lucid descriptions of the events which occurred in Scotland, as well as in England and France and beyond the Pyrenees, during the fifty years of Edward's vigorous, if not altogether satisfactory reign. The absence of an index in a work like this cannot be regarded as otherwise than a great defect.

The Scottish Reformation: its Epochs, Episodes, Leaders, and Distinctive Characteristics. (Being the Baird Lecture for 1899). By the late ALEXANDER F. MITCHELL, D.D., LL.D., &c. Edited by D. HAY FLEMING, LL.D., with a biographical sketch of the author by James Christie, D.D. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1900.

The late Dr. Mitchell was well known as a diligent and enthusiastic student of the Scottish Reformation, and we have here in the Baird lecture for 1899 his latest, and perhaps his ripest, thoughts upon it. We say 'perhaps,' because the lectures were written and revised in ill-health, his original intentions in respect to them he was unable to carry out, and he did not live to see the volume through the press. Whether on further revision he would have materially altered anything here said it is useless to speculate, but from his known opinions it is scarcely likely that he would. However, Dr. Hay Fleming, whose knowledge of the period is great, has edited the lectures with evident painstaking care. Many of his notes are helpful, and he has endeavoured to carry out the author's intention of adding a couple of lectures on Alesius and Melville, by incorporating in the volume a lecture delivered by Dr. Mitchell some years ago to his class on Alesius. Dr. Christie has also added a graceful biographical sketch of the venerable Professor, and nothing has been left undone to make the volume as complete as possible. The title page is full, perhaps too full, for after all the lectures contain only a sketch of an event, which, great as it was, and much as has been written about it, is not yet fully understood. But if only a sketch, it is wonderfully well drawn, and exhibits the Scottish Reformation as it presented itself to Dr. Mitchell in a singularly clear and striking manner. Its simplicity of narration is in parts charming, and the perusal of it is rendered all the more pleasant by the absence of apparent effort on the part of the narrator. Some parts are scarcely so attractive, and much that is said in respect to the Theology of the Reformers and their efforts at Church Statesmanship, notwithstanding the art with which it is set out, is likely to be of greater interest to the student than to the general public.

As is well known, Dr. Mitchell's admiration for Knox was almost unbounded, still there were points in the character of the Reformer and in his actions, or at least in his language, which did not entirely commend themselves to him. At the same time he defends him against the charges of immorality which have been brought against him, and says of them that they 'may be dismissed as nothing more than the stock-in-trade of hard-pressed controversialists in the sixteenth century.' The volume is supplied with a good index and a series of useful appendices.

The Lake of Menteith; its Islands and Vicinity, with Historical Accounts of the Priory of Inchmahome and the Earldom of Menteith. By A. F. HUTCHISON, M.A. Illustrations. Stirling: Eneas Mackay. 1899.

Neither the ancient province nor the ancient Stewartry of Menteith comes exactly within the scope of Mr. Hutchison's volume. Here and there, indeed very frequently, they are touched upon, but the special subject of Mr. Hutchison's study is the piece of water known as the Lake of Menteith, with its islands and its vicinity. How it comes to be called the *Lake of Menteith* is apparently a mystery. As far back as 1485 it was known in the documents of the period as *Lacus de Inchmahomok*; in a rental book of 1646 it is called the 'loche of Inchemahummoe,' and Timothy Pont, in his Map of the Province of Lennox (1654), names it 'Loche Inchmahumo;' but in 1724 Graham of Duchray calls it the 'Lake of Monteath,' and then the name begins to hover about, being sometimes the Lake of Inchemachame or Inchmahane, the Lake of Inchmaome or the Loch o' Port, till finally it settles down into the Lake of Menteith, and becomes what Mr. Hutchison calls 'the only lake in Scotland.' It lies at the foot of the Ben-dearg portion of the hills of Menteith, is some fifty-five feet above sea level, and some five or six feet above the Carse of Forth, and is situated in the midst of a beautiful country, in which its own waters and islands, with their ruins, form a not unimportant feature. Speaking of the country around it, Dr. John Brown of *Horæ Subsecivæ* fame, says: 'It is lovely rather than beautiful, and is a sort of gentle prelude, in the minor key, to the coming glories and intenser charms of Loch Awe, and the true Highlands beyond.' The lake is not large, being about a mile and a half in length and a mile in breadth, and approximately circular in outline. In one part it is shallow, but elsewhere it reaches a depth of forty-five, sixty-three, and eighty-eight feet. At its north-west corner is situated the village of Port, once the landing place for the monks of Inchmahome. By a charter passed under the great seal, 8th February, 1466, James III., for the singular favour he bore to his beloved kinsman, Malise, Earl of Menteith, and for provision to be made for himself and his lieges in the high land of Menteith, during the season of the huntings, raised the town or village into a free burgh, and conferred upon its inhabitants the usual privileges. Whatever glories the burgh once had—and they do not seem to have been many, though it was often favoured with royal visits—they are now gone. The hawthorne tree, at least the trunk of it, which had to do duty as a Market Cross, is still standing, but its market and fair of St. Michael are now discontinued. As usual with places of this sort, there is more to tell about it after the Reformation than there is before it. As usual, too, more is known about the sins of the people than about their virtues. The chief and besetting sin of the inhabitants of Port appears from the Kirk Session book to have been drunkenness, and especially on the Sundays, and Mr. Hutchison gives some curious notes from the said record

respecting 'that old sin and scandall of this parish of drinking the whole Lord's day,' and the efforts made to repress it. The two principal islands on the lake are Inchmahome and Inchtalla. Of the two, the first is the larger. It derives its name from a dedication to the Celtic saint Colman or Colmoe, and is therefore the Island of my Colman, as is elaborately shown by Mr. Hutchison in opposition to M'Gregor of Stirling, who would interpret the name as 'the Isle of my Rest.' The island, which is about five acres in extent, was probably at first the site of a single cell, and then of a colony of Culdees. The coming of the Augustinians may be set down at or about the year 1238. That, at any rate, is the date of the foundation charter of their house. This was necessarily small, but the canons were fairly well endowed with land in the neighbourhood of the lake. Mr. Hutchison gives a description of the ruins of the monastery, and a plan of the original structure, and notes the remains of their garden, and the traces of their arboriculture. He tells the legend of the Nun's Walk, but rejects it as accounting for the name of the walk—a road running between the two principal buildings, and ending in a sort of knoll—and suggests that 'Nun's' is a corruption of 'Nones,' and that the walk was so called because the monks were in the habit of taking exercise there after nones. Inchtalla was the residence of Malise, first Graham Earl of Menteith. The building, however, which is represented by the existing ruins, is of much more recent date. Its builders do not appear to have scrupled to use the stones of the Priory in its construction. Mr. Hutchison gives a brief but interesting history of the Earldom of Menteith. He finds the first mention of the Earl of Menteith in a statute of David I., and in the course of his narrative gives an account of the Comyns, of Walter, the third son of Walter the High Steward of Scotland, and of Alexander his son, and Alexander his grandson, and has naturally much to say respecting Robert Stewart, the third son of the Earl of Strathorne, by whom the Earldom of Menteith came back to the Stuart family, and who afterwards became King Robert III. To Sir John Menteith, the betrayer of Wallace, Mr. Hutchison devotes an entire chapter, and says probably all that can be said in his favour. He is not altogether sure that he deserves all the infamy which has been heaped upon him. Throughout his volume Mr. Hutchison has had the assistance of the Red Book of Menteith and other works of authority, but every page bears witness to the ability and painstaking care he has brought to bear upon it. The work is an excellent example of a local history. It is well printed, and has a sufficient index. The illustrations might have been better, and a map would have been a convenience.

Two of the Saxon Chronicles parallel, with Supplementary Extracts from the Others. A Revised Text. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, Appendices, and Glossary, by CHARLES PLUMMER, M.A., on the basis of an Edition by JOHN EARLE, M.A. 2 vols. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1892-1899.

Professor Earle's text of his two Saxon Chronicles had to wait in type eight years before it was furnished with notes and introduction and made ready for publication, and seven years have had to elapse between the publication of Mr. Plummer's first and second volumes—the first containing the text, and the second the introduction and notes, etc. Whatever caused the delay in Professor Earle's case, Mr. Plummer's reason has been good and helpful. In the meantime he has published an edition of the

Latin text of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, which is an unquestionable gain to the student, and one of the most erudite pieces of editing we have. The Saxon Chronicles are here edited with the same minute care and extensive scholarship. Good as Professor Earle's edition is Mr. Plummer's shows a number of improvements upon it, and but for the formidable lists of *corrigenda* and *addenda* might almost be said to leave nothing to be desired. In the main, however, Mr. Plummer has followed Professor Earle, though in a number of points he departs from him. The arrangement of the texts is extremely convenient. The two principal are taken from the Parker and Laud MSS., while all the passages in which the other MSS. vary to any important extent are given, either alongside the text or in the notes. Earlier and later interpolations in the Parker MS. are distinguished by the use of different types, those in good and fairly early hands being printed in a smaller roman type, and the rest, which are considerably more numerous, and due to a twelfth century hand, in italics. Similarly, the interpolations or marginal or other insertions in the Abingdon and other MSS. are all carefully marked off or distinguished by methods as ingenious as they are convenient and helpful. The Glossary is of great value and aims at giving every word occurring in the two principal texts. The principal forms which occur in the extracts from the other MSS. are also registered, but minute variations in spelling, etc., are ignored. Turning to the Introduction, in this Mr. Plummer discusses the difference between histories and chronicles, describes the MSS. which contain the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, respecting which it would be truer to say they are four rather than seven, since the MS. used by Wheloe, but afterwards destroyed by fire with the exception of three leaves, is a transcript of the Parker MS., and the MS. known as B. is identical, as far as it goes, with C., and are both copies of the same MS., while F. is an epitome of E. The Parker, Abingdon, Worcester, and Land 'have every right,' he believes, 'to be considered distinct Chronicles.' The arguments by which this conclusion is arrived at are often extremely neat and convincing. The paragraphs on the relation of the different MSS. to Bede and to other Chronicles are of great importance, as are those also in which the locality of origin is attempted to be proved. Following Dr. Theobald Mr. Plummer uses the Annals of Asser or St. Neots to prove that the MS. *Æ*, 'the common ancestor of all our chronicles up to 892,' had behind it, and was itself a copy of another MS., *Æ*, extending up to the same date, and preserving the true chronology, which, as Dr. Stubbs pointed out in his edition of Hoveden, is dislocated in all the existing MSS. This MS. *Æ* Mr. Plummer regards as autograph of the writer who compiled the Chronicle up to 892, and believes that the compiler worked under the direction of Alfred, in support of which he adduces a number of interesting arguments, but chiefly from the preface to the Chronicles and Alfred's translation of Orosius. Both the Introduction and the notes are singularly replete with information. The latter are as full and elaborate as the Introduction, and bear evident signs of the value of the author's studies on Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* as a preparation for the writing of them. It is not too much to say that Mr. Plummer's editions of both works are by far the best which English scholarship has produced.

The Life of John Nicholson, Soldier and Administrator, based on Private and hitherto unpublished Documents. By Captain LIONEL J. TROTTER. Portraits and Maps. London: John Murray. 1900.

It is now close on forty-three years since John Nicholson, the 'Lion of the Punjab,' received his death-wound after leading the assault on Delhi, and was buried in the newly formed graveyard near Ludlow Castle, opposite the Kashmir Gate, and the breach which he had been among the first to crown. Since then numerous sketches and notices of him have appeared from time to time from the hands of those by whom he was loved and admired. Captain Trotter's, however, is the first formal biography which has been written of him, and it will in all probability be the last. He has had access to numerous private documents, and has made such excellent use of them, as well as of whatever has appeared in print respecting his hero, that, though further editions of his volume may be required, it is not likely that another biography will be deemed necessary, or that any one will attempt to improve upon the narrative which is here so simply yet brilliantly told. It is no wonder that Captain Trotter's volume has been through so many editions. A better subject he could scarcely have had. Nicholson was of a heroic build both in body and mind. A born soldier and administrator, he knew exactly what to do and when to do it, and toiled, as he fought, magnificently. Wherever he was known he was loved or feared, and the better he was known the more he was loved. Few men in India have left behind them so deep an impression. Twelve years after his death, Captain Trotter tells us, 'Younghusband was in the Shahpur district, south of Rawal Pindi, talking to a townana, or chief, about John Nicholson's doings in that district during the second Sikh war. He said, "To this day our women at night wake trembling, and saying they hear the tramp of Nicholsoon's war-horse." Like many of the best officers of the British army, Nicholson was an Irishman, though of a family which was originally English. His father was Dr. Alexander Nicholson of Dublin. On his mother's side he was related to Sir J. Hogg, or, as he then was, Mr. J. W. Hogg, a leading director of the East Indian Company, and subsequently an influential member of the Queen's Indian Council. Through him Nicholson obtained an appointment under the old East India Company in 1839, when he was sixteen, and reached Calcutta about the middle of July in 1839. Long before leaving home he had shown what sort of stuff he was made of. 'One day Mrs. Nicholson found him, when but three years of age, furiously flicking a knotted handkerchief at some imaginary foe. "What are you doing, John?" was her wondering question. "Oh, mother dear," he gravely answered, "I'm trying to get a blow at the devil. He is wanting to make me bad. If I could get him down, I'd kill him." In this the 'child was father of the man.' In after life nothing roused Nicholson so much as the sight of injustice and evil. He was always fighting against it, both in himself and in others. In the Bannu district and elsewhere his name was a terror to evil-doers. If any evil had been done, the sight of his well-known horse was a sign to those who had done it that their hour was come. Few men, indeed, have ruled the wild border tribes of Northern India with so firm or so sure a hand. By the time the Mutiny broke out he had already made his mark, and was trusted by such men as Sir John and Sir Henry Lawrence, by Edwardes and Neville Chamberlain. Captain Trotter relates what Nicholson did, along with most of those just named, to preserve the Punjab, and the magnificent work he did in connection with the siege of Delhi. The lapse of time does not in any way dim the brilliancy of his actions. There can be little doubt that his victory at Najafgarh did more than aught else to bring about the fall of Delhi, while his feats with the 'movable column' have never been surpassed. Captain Trotter speaks of Nicholson, however, not only as a great soldier and administrator; he has much to tell also as to his relations with others,

and of the gentler side of his character. Many anecdotes are told of him, some of them amusing, and one closes the volume with the feeling that by his death the army lost one of the gentlest, truest, and bravest of men.

The Life and Works of Dante Alighieri. Being an Introduction to the Study of the 'Divina Commedia.' By the Rev. J. F. Hogan, D.D. London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1899.

From Dr. Hogan's preface we learn that in the main this volume consists of a series of lectures delivered to the students of Maynooth College. It does not profess to contain an exhaustive treatment of its subject; nor does it profess to be written for specialists. It is intended rather to serve as an introduction to the study of the *Divina Commedia* for those who have neither the inclination nor the time to become specialists, but wish to obtain an intelligent understanding of Dante and his writings. Introductions of the kind are numerous, many of them being written from different, and some of them from conflicting points of view. Written originally for students in Theology, the predominant tone of Dr. Hogan is theological. Of the numerous controversial passages which occur in the volume some are better suited for a polemical treatise than for a calm and dispassionate introduction to the study of writings even as theological as Dante's. Their delivery to the students of Maynooth College may have been right and proper, but their presence in the volume rather detracts from the pleasure of its perusal, and will have the effect, we should say, of narrowing the circle of its readers. Dante belongs neither to a party nor to a Church, but to the race, and what is wanted in a work of this sort is not polemics, but a clear statement of the ideas of the poet, and precise indications of his method and art. The larger part of the volume is taken up with an analysis of the *Divine Comedy*, with here and there translations or references to the finer passages. The analysis is accompanied with a commentary for the most part historical. Dr. Hogan mentions the various senses in which the text is to be interpreted—the literal, moral, allegorical, etc.—but does not, of course, attempt to bring them out, though here and there he refers to one or more of them. The analysis, though, as is necessarily the case, is not original, but it is always clear and accurate, and will unquestionably prove of use to the student. As may readily be supposed, that of the *Inferno* is much the most interesting. The biographical notes to the other parts as well as here are excellent, but with some of the expository passages in the third part of the *Commedia* the student not well versed in theology may have trouble. The references to the writings of others on Dante both in the analysis and throughout the volume are ample, and to those who wish to go beyond Dr. Hogan's introduction will be welcome. The 'Life of Dante,' which forms the first part of the volume, though not entirely without its faults, may on the whole be commended. No doubt the invasions 'from beyond the Rhine, under the Othos, the Conrads,' etc., brought much misery upon Italy, but it can scarcely be said that 'the Popes resisted steadily and persistently the encroachments of these foreigners.' The statement that when 'on the death of Henry VI., Innocent III. supported the claims' of Otho, though he did afterwards excommunicate him, shows that at least at one time Innocent had no very strong objections to the Germans. Nor can it be said that with the fall of imperialism 'the brightest epoch of Italy's history began.' Dr. Hogan, indeed, scarcely appreciates the political condition of Italy at the time, and the student will require to study the subject for

himself, or at least to check the statements contained in the Life. On Dante's minor works Dr. Hogan's notes, which are not extensive, will be found helpful, as will also the section on Dante's commentators. Chapters are devoted to Dante's views on the temporal power of the Pope, and on the poet's theological opinions. The author has no difficulty in showing that Dante was not a 'Reformer before the Reformation,' in the sense so unwisely held by some, that he taught opinions akin to those taught by Luther, etc., or in showing that the opinions he held on the temporal power were not those attributed to him by Rossetti and others. The most attractive of the chapters at the end of the volume is that on Dante in English literature. The volume is not without mistakes or misprints, as *Infra* for *Inferno*. Some of the names are curiously misspelt; Joachim appears as Giochimo, and a number of Biblical names appear otherwise than as in the A.V. As to the treatise, *De Aqua et Terra*, Dr. Hogan differs from Dr. Moore, whose defence of it, he tells us, has left his conviction that it is not Dante's unshaken.

The Complete Works of John Gower. Edited from the MSS. with Introductions, Notes, and Glossaries. By G. C. MACAULAY, M.A. The French Works. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1899.

If Mr. Macaulay has not made a great discovery, he has at anyrate brought to light one which is of great importance, more especially in regard to the early developments of the English language and the writings of Gower. The principal piece in the present volume is the hitherto missing work of Gower, usually referred to as the *Speculum Meditantis*, and the way in which he came across it, Mr. Macaulay tells us, was as follows:—'In the year 1895, while engaged in searching libraries for MSS. of the *Confessio Amantis*, I observed to Mr. Jenkinson, Librarian of the Cambridge University Library, that if the lost French work of Gower should ever be discovered, it would in all probability be found to have the title *Speculum Hominis*, and not that of *Speculum Meditantis*, under which it was ordinarily referred to. He at once called my attention to the MS. with the title *Mirour de l'omme*, which he had lately bought and presented to the University Library. On examining this, I was able to identify it beyond all doubt with the missing book.' The *Mirour l'omme* is not a great poem in the way that the Divine Comedy, Paradise Lost, or the plays of Shakespeare are great, but it is great in length. Some of the folios are wanting in the MS., nevertheless, in its present condition, the poem runs out to close upon 30,000 lines. Its weariness is almost equal to its length. The author seems to have been determined to atone for the lighter pieces he had written by making this as learned and heavy as possible. Still, in spite of himself, he has not been able to altogether suppress his skill in words or his natural faculty as a poet, and here and there greener and brighter spots appear in what is otherwise desert. The date at which the poem was written cannot be exactly determined, but, as Mr. Macaulay shows, from certain indications it contains, there can be little doubt that it was written during the years 1376-1379. In his *Literary History of the English People*, M. Jussérand conjectured that if the work should ever be discovered, it would prove to be one of those tirades on the vices of the age which in French were known as 'bibles.' And such it is, though as Mr. Macaulay justly observes, it is much more than this. 'In fact,' as he continues, 'it combines the three principal species of moral compositions all in one frame-

work—the manual of vices and virtues, an attack on the evils of existing society from the highest place downwards, and finally the versified summary and legend, introduced here with a view to the exaltation and praise of the Virgin.' In the first of the divisions into which it divides itself—a division which extends over nearly two-thirds of the whole—the work resembles somewhat those of Frère Lorenz, William Waddington, and others whose books were intended to be of practical use to persons preparing for confession. In its second part it resembles such compositions as *Bible Guiot de Provins*, but is much larger and goes into much more elaborate detail respecting the various classes of society and their distinctive faults. In the last 2500 lines is a Life of the Virgin as the principal mediator between God and man, the conclusion of the book as it exists containing a number of not unpoetical praises and prayers addressed to her. The work is learned—too learned, in fact, to be lively—and contains an immense number of quotations. A number of them are from Cicero and Ovid. Three are attributed to Horace, but one of them is from Ovid, and another of them from Juvenal. Many are from the Latin Fathers, Jerome, Augustine, Gregory, Bernard, and Ambrose, but the greatest number are from the Old Testament, with which the author seems to have been very familiar. He was acquainted also with the *Legenda Aurea*, and refers to the *Vitæ Patrum*. There are references to the political events of the period, but, as might be expected, the work is richest in notes bearing upon its moral and social aspects. The general corruption was regarded by Gower with something like horror, but he describes what he saw or believed he saw. What he says respecting the Court of Rome and the mendicant Orders confirms the unfavourable impressions we get from other writers of the times. The temporal possessions of the Church he denounces as the root of almost all the evils there is in her. The mendicant friars he regards as those 'false prophets' of whom the Gospel speaks, who wear sheep's clothing but inwardly are ravening wolves. The parish priests, he thinks, are almost as much to blame as the prelates, monks, and friars, and is of opinion that the whole church is in need of reform. Turning to secular life, he gives a curious and life-like picture of the city dames at the wine-shops, whither they go instead of to church or market, how the vintner draws for them ten kinds of wine from a single cask at different prices. He describes the devices employed by shopkeepers to attract custom and to cheat customers. The mercer cries out louder than a sparrowhawk, seizes on people in the streets, drags them into his shop, and urges them only to view his wares, ostrich feathers, silks and satins, and foreign cloth. The draper tries to sell cloth in a dark room, where blue can hardly be made out from green, and while making his customer pay double its value, wants to persuade him that he is simply giving it away out of regard for him. The goldsmith purloins the gold and silver left with him; the druggist not only sells paints and cosmetics to women, but is in league with the physician, and charges exorbitantly for making up the simplest prescription. Food is adulterated; false weights and measures are used; wines are mixed and coloured, and what is sold as Rhenish probably grew upon the banks of the Thames. Merchants defraud all who have dealings with them, live in great state, but when they die are found to have spent all their substance and to have left their debts unpaid. The labourers in the country are discontented and disagreeable. They demand more pay and do less work than formerly. In the old days they never tasted wheat bread, and rarely had cheese or milk. Juries are corrupt, and usually packed by certain captains called 'tracers.' Judges and advocates he condemns in more unqualified terms than the members of any other calling. As to himself

a few facts may be gathered from the poem which in some degree supplement what little is known of his life. His life hitherto, he thinks, has been passed in folly, and he has committed all the seven deadly sins; moreover, he has written love poems; all the same it is probable enough that his life was highly respectable. He appears to have been married, and it is not unlikely that he was a merchant. He apologises to the honest members of the class for exposing the abuses to which the occupation is liable, objects to outsiders being given privileges in trade, and is so enthusiastic about wool as the first of all commodities, and has so much to say about the abuses of the staple that the probability is he was a wool merchant. As is well known, he was wealthy, but his tastes appear to have been simple. That he was just and upright is beyond question.—The other works contained in the volume are the *Cinkante Balades* and the '*Traitié*.' The first have been known through their publication by the Roxburgh Club and by Dr. Stengel; the '*Traitié*,' a series of eighteen balades, has also been twice printed, once by the Roxburgh Club and again by Dr. Stengel. Mr. Macaulay has done his work well. His introduction is of great value both in connection with the writings to which it is prefixed, and in connection with the history of the English tongue in regard to Norman-French. The notes grapple with the difficulties in the text, and the elaborate glossary, so far as we have examined it, is exhaustive.

Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire. By SAMUEL DILL, M.A., Professor of Greek in Queen's College, Belfast. Second Edition, Revised. London: Macmillan & Co. 1899.

Professor Dill's volume has already reached a second edition, a recognition which its value well deserves. Books of its kind do not readily reach a second edition, and the fact that this has may be taken as an indication, not only of its intrinsic merits, but of the wide-spread interest which is now taken in the social condition of the human race at any of the great epochs of its history. For the materials for his work Mr. Dill has, of course, had to have recourse to the authors of the period with which he deals, and his pages resolve themselves largely, though not entirely, but almost of necessity, into a history of the literature of the last days of the Western Empire. His sketches of Symmachus, Ausonius, and Apollinaris Sidonius, their surroundings and writings, are brilliant and effective. The letters and other literary efforts of these and other Roman authors of the time are not particularly interesting reading. For the most part they are extremely artificial, rhetoric and fine phrases being more conspicuous in them than facts or information as to the great changes which were then being gradually evolved. To the severer spirit of Ammianus Marcellinus Mr. Dill pays a just tribute, and writes with discrimination about Rutilius Namatianus. Salvianus he pronounces rhetorical, and says that 'he has a *parti pris*,' but admits that 'on matters of notorious fact his testimony must be accepted.' Of the work of Orosius, notwithstanding its popularity in the Middle Ages and the favour it has found among some modern critics, he has little that is good to say. As for its being the first attempt to found a philosophy of history, this description of it, he says, can only be accepted if by the words 'philosophy of history,' is meant an arbitrary and uncritical handling of the facts to suit an *a priori* theory, or a temporary theological purpose. Referring to the City of God, Mr. Dill says, 'It has some of the faults which we might expect from what S. Augustine tells

us of the distractions of his daily life ; but its vastness of range and conception gives us the measure not only of the writer's genius, but of the force of the enemy to be overthrown. . . . So far as the work is polemical, it is an assault, in the first place, upon the political view of the Roman religion, and, in the next, on the philosophical attempt to rehabilitate it.' In short, all through, whether dealing with Pagan or Christian writers, Mr. Dill is always critical, and does not let even his admiration for S. Jerome persuade him to put implicit confidence in the great Commentator's judgment as to the things that were transpiring in the parts of the empire so remote from Bethlehem as Italy or Gaul. In the first of the five books into which the volume is divided, Mr. Dill accounts for the obstinate attachment which prevailed, both among the vulgar and among the educated classes to the ancient paganism of Rome. That this attachment was obstinate Mr. Dill has no difficulty in showing ; and points out that, notwithstanding the severity and even fierceness of the edicts against paganism at the close of the fourth century, the majority of the people were little touched by the Christian faith ; that in the reign of Honorius, staunch adherents of paganism still held the Urban or Pretorian prefecture ; and that a quarter of a century after the death of Theodosius, Rutilius Namatianus could pour contempt on the Christian profession, and rejoice at the sight of the villagers of Etruria gaily celebrating the rites of Osiris in the springtime. Similarly with magic and divination. These, in every form, had long been under the ban of the State, yet in the last years of the Western Empire, the diviners of Africa were practising their arts among the nominal Christians of Aquitaine. To suppose that this attachment to the old faith rested solely on ignorant superstition or on the hard formalism of the old Roman mythology, would, as Mr. Dill justly points out, be a grave mistake. Other and more powerful causes were at work. Some of these are pointed out in the following :—' For many generations,' Mr. Dill writes, ' the cults of Eastern origin, the worship of Isis, of the Great Mother, and Mithra, had satisfied devotional feelings which could find little nourishment in the cold abstractions of the old Roman religion or the brilliant anthropomorphism of Greece. The inscriptions of the fourth century reveal the enduring power of these Syrian or Egyptian worships. They cultivated an ecstatic devotion, and gave relief to remorse for sin. They had their mystic brotherhoods and guilds, with an initiatory baptismal rite. They had their rules and periods of fasting and abstinence from all the pleasures of sense. They had a priesthood set apart from the world, with the tonsure and a peculiar habit. And, in initiation to their mysteries, a profound impression was made on the imagination and feelings of the novice. The baptism of blood, of which many a stone record now remains, was the crowning rite of the later paganism, relieving the guilty conscience, and regarded as a new birth. It can hardly be doubted that, while these cults may not have supplied the moral tone and discipline which was the great want in all heathen systems, they stimulated a devotional feeling which was unknown to the native religions of Greece and Rome.' Mr. Dill also dwells upon the influence which the philosophy of the East had in deepening the attachment to the old faith, as well as upon a variety of other causes, which all worked for the same end, and points out that notwithstanding the antagonism of their faiths Pagans and Christians met on friendly, and sometimes intimate terms. His first book, indeed, is one that the student of the history of Christianity can no more neglect than the student of the social condition of the last days of the Western Empire can. The second book contains the literary sketches to which reference has been made already ; but while giving an account of the literary men and literature of

the period, it contains sketches of the social and moral conditions among which the writers referred to moved. The failure of the Roman administration, and the ruin which this failure brought upon the middle class, is described in the following book. The picture which is given of Italy is particularly striking. Mr. Dill dwells also on the decay of commerce, upon the depressed condition of the merchant class, and upon the fact that, while a few grew immensely rich, the tendency among the rest, through the pressure of circumstances over which they had no control, was to become poor. The chapters treating of the barbarian invasion, and the relations between the Romans and the invaders, are among the freshest in the volume, and give more insight into the actual social condition of the period than any other. The indifference with which the aristocracy viewed the different invasions, and their sublime confidence in the stability of Rome and its empire, are among the most striking features of the times. The elaborate chapter on the culture of the fifth century is remarkable for its scholarship and critical insight, as, in fact, are the whole of the chapters. This last chapter forms a fitting conclusion to what cannot but be characterised as one of the most scholarly and valuable works that has appeared for some time. For anything comparable to it in English, treating of the same subject, the reader will look in vain.

Tennyson, Ruskin, Mill, and other Literary Estimates. By
FREDERIC HARRISON. London: Macmillan & Co. 1899.

From a note prefixed to these essays we learn that the series was planned, and in great part written some years ago, but has been kept back waiting for the re-issue of Tennyson's principal poems in a popular form. Why the essays should have been kept back on this account is a question that will puzzle most readers, since there is not a single remark made in reference to Tennyson and his poems, which might not have been made if the re-issue of the latter in a popular form had never occurred. The essays, if we count a couple of dialogues as such, are fourteen in all, and, besides those of the writers whose names are mentioned on the title page, pass in review the writings of Matthew Arnold, Addington Symonds, Lamb and Keats, Froude and Freeman, and the new Lives and Letters of Gibbon. On the whole they are disappointing. There is much that is attractive about them. Mr. Harrison is too clever a writer not to be attractive; but most of what he has to say reads like an echo of what has been said not once or twice but many times before, while as for the rest much of it is of little importance, though possibly of interest to examiners and to those who have to answer their questions. What strikes us most in some of the essays, in the one on Tennyson for instance, is the want of restraint. Where Mr. Harrison praises his language is tumid, often bordering on the extravagant, scarcely the cool, measured language of the dispassionate critic. One cannot help admiring the skill with which the adjectives are selected. 'Rhythm, phrasing, and articulation so entirely faultless, so exquisitely clear, melodious, and sure;' the winged epithets are often of astonishing brilliancy, extraordinarily beautiful and appropriate metre, 'a miracle of poignant music,' 'the topmost empyrean of lyric,' 'reaching in rapture the supreme bursts of lyric,' 'the mighty imagination of these immortal visions,' are a few of the flowers occurring within the space of four or five pages. The expressions are no doubt forcible, but they border on the extravagant. Another thing which strikes one is that the principal aim of the essays is not so much criticism as to preach the evangel of Positivism. Comte and his teaching meet us in almost all of them, and it is from the Positivist's point of view that the

ideas of the writers criticised are judged, and not always fairly. Freeman is blamed for not distinctly enunciating Comte's doctrine of the evolution of society. 'His arguments,' we are told, would have been both stronger and sounder if he had recognised, not merely continuity and unity in history, but organic evolution and the development of the present from the past.' That Freeman did not do this will be news to those who are acquainted with his writings, and those who are not will have some difficulty in recognising how one who recognises 'the continuity and unity in history' does not also recognise its 'organic evolution and the development of the present from the past.' On the faults and failings of Freeman and Froude as historians, Mr. Harrison dwells at considerable length, and as it seems to us, needlessly. Sufficient has been written in this connection already. The one valuable piece in the two essays is the paragraphs on 'original sources' and the use of them. Here Mr. Harrison writes as one who knows. Rarely does 'original sources' mean more than printed sources. As Mr. Harrison points out, the decipherment of actually 'original sources' is a profession by itself; to those not in the profession it is the merest drudgery and generally of little profit. Turning back to the first essay, we doubt whether the estimate of Tennyson, except among the thoroughly uncritical, is really as high as Mr. Harrison would make out. There can be no doubt, however, that most of the defects he points out in his writings are there. But whether a poet is less a poet because he does not invent a better and deeper philosophy than the best and deepest which is current among his friends or in his age is a question on which much may be said on both sides. Dante did not invent a new theory of things. Nor did Milton or Shakespeare. It will probably be found that both these and the poets of Greece did no more than embody in splendid form the best ideas current around them. Mr. Harrison's essay on Mill is in part an attempt to revive an interest in the writings of that philosopher. The attempt will in all probability fail. Mill's day, like that of so many others, is past, and even his outspoken rejection of Positivism will fail to prevent his writings being overlooked.

Platonis Opera. Recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit. IOANNES BURNET. Tomus I. Oxonii: E. Typographeo Clarendoniano. *Cornelii Taciti.* Recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit. HENRICUS FURNEAUX. Oxonii: E. Typographeo Clarendoniano.

These are the first volumes of the new series of Greek and Latin texts to be issued by the Clarendon Press. They are evidently intended for the use of students or for those who wish to have reliable texts of the writings of the chief authors of Greece and Rome in a handy and portable form. Judging by the two volumes before us, the series is likely to meet the requirements of both the classes referred to. The price is moderate, the paper good, the type clear and remarkably legible, and the binding, in limp cloth, is light and durable. So far as external workmanship is concerned, indeed, the volumes are excellent in every respect. The editors have evidently taken great pains with their texts, as the numerous footnotes, dealing with various and conjectural readings, abundantly prove. The prefaces are brief and to the point, treating chiefly of MS. and printed editions. M. Furneaux is well known as the author of an excellent edition of the *Agricola*, and Mr. Burnet, as Professor of Greek in the University of St. Andrews and author of a work on Greek Philosophy and of a recently published edition of Aristotle's *Ethica*.

Stephen's arrangement of the dialogues is not followed. The present volume contains the following in the order they are named :—Enthyphro, the Apologion, Crito, Phædo, Cratylus, Theætetus, Sophista, and Politicus.

A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles. Edited by
Dr. JAMES A. H. MURRAY. In—Infer. (Vol. V.) Oxford :
At the Clarendon Press. April, 1900.

The great majority of the words registered in this Part of Dr. Murray's great work are of Latin origin. Very few of them are of Old English origin, and comparatively few of them present much difficulty as to their etymology. Some of them, however, present problems by no means easy of solution, and have afforded abundant scope for that research into the history, meaning, and origin of words of which the Oxford Dictionary now contains so many splendid illustrations. It is scarcely possible, indeed, to open the present part without coming across some interesting item of information. Take, for instance, the article under 'incubus,' which we have just lighted upon, or the article under 'incumbent' or 'incunabula.' From the second of these we learn that it is in English only that the word signifies the holder of an ecclesiastical benefice or of any office. Among book buyers 'incunabula' stands for books printed before 1500, but its original meaning has as little to do with books and their printing as a cradle or swaddling-clothes have. But perhaps the most instructive, at any rate from one point of view the most admirable article in the section is that under the word 'index.' Probably not one in a thousand can give the history of *Index Expurgatorius* and *Index librorum prohibitorum*. Yet the history of each is here traced with an abundance of illustration up to its origin. Another interesting article is that on 'indenture,' and one preceding it on 'indent.' So again are those under 'indigo,' 'individual,' and 'India' and its derivatives. Lowland Scotch words are, as might be expected in this section, somewhat rare. A few, however, are to be met with, as, e.g., 'inborrow,' 'inbye,' 'inch' (an island), 'income,' a morbid affection, 'inding,' unworthy, 'indite,' the act or faculty of inditing, and the old terms 'infang' and 'infangthief,' which latter, however, is as much English as Scottish. Those who have an affection for long words will find in this section 'incircumscribtliness,' which is quite as long as 'honorificabilitudinitas.' It may be interesting to theologians to know that in the Nicene Creed the word 'incomprehensible' retains its original sense.

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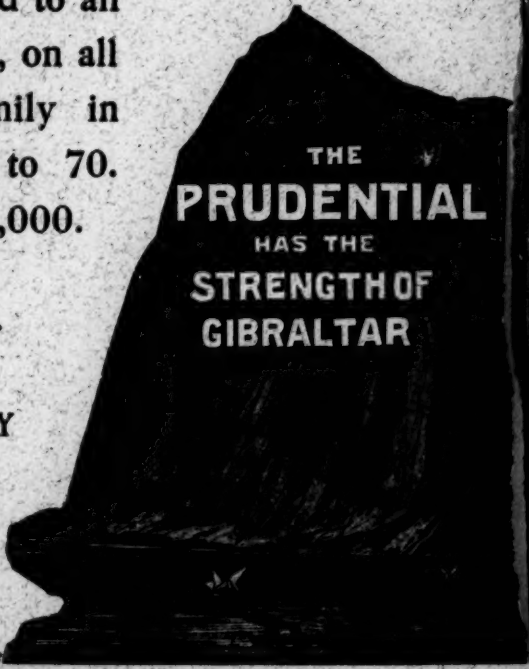
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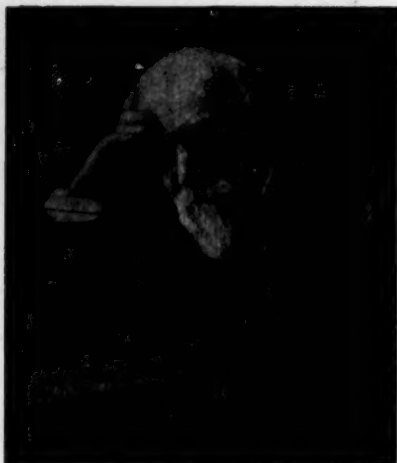
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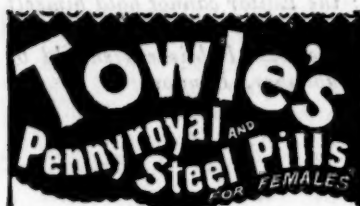
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